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ABSTRACT

The third Fenno-Hungarian Conference on Developmental Psychology covered four main concepts: the historical roots and development of social competence through three generations, parent-child interaction, parenthood, and the development of socio-cognitive competence through childhood and adolescence. A series of papers was presented addressing the following topics; (1) infant vocalization; (2) family educational norms in the education of grandchildren; (3) historical roots of sex-atypical careers of women; (4) wantedness and unwantedness of children over three generations; (5) human relations of retired people, their self-actualization and their faith in the future; (6) empathy and prosocial attitudes of students of Special Education; (7) impact of families and state care on children's communication skills; (8) mother attitudes and interaction with learning disabled sons; (9) mother attitudes and interaction with low birthweight babies; (10) ambivalence about motherhood during pregnancy: effects on the caregiving role; (11) father role and family adjustment; (12) fathers as primary caregivers; (13) have parents of boys and girls experienced them differently bringing them up?"; (14) affect of child's age, social status and regional location on marital adjustment; (15) a new approach to the construction of spatial coordinates; (16) competitive behavior in relation to high ability and home environment; (17) culture mediating role of families of high ability children; (18) insecurity of 5- to 6-year-old children; and (19) influence of parent self-esteem and attitudes on the self-esteem of child. All of these papers report research results, many of which contain references and statistical tables. (LSH)

ED 395 652

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PARENTS´ AND GRANDPARENTS´ ROLE

Edited by Mirja Kalliopuska

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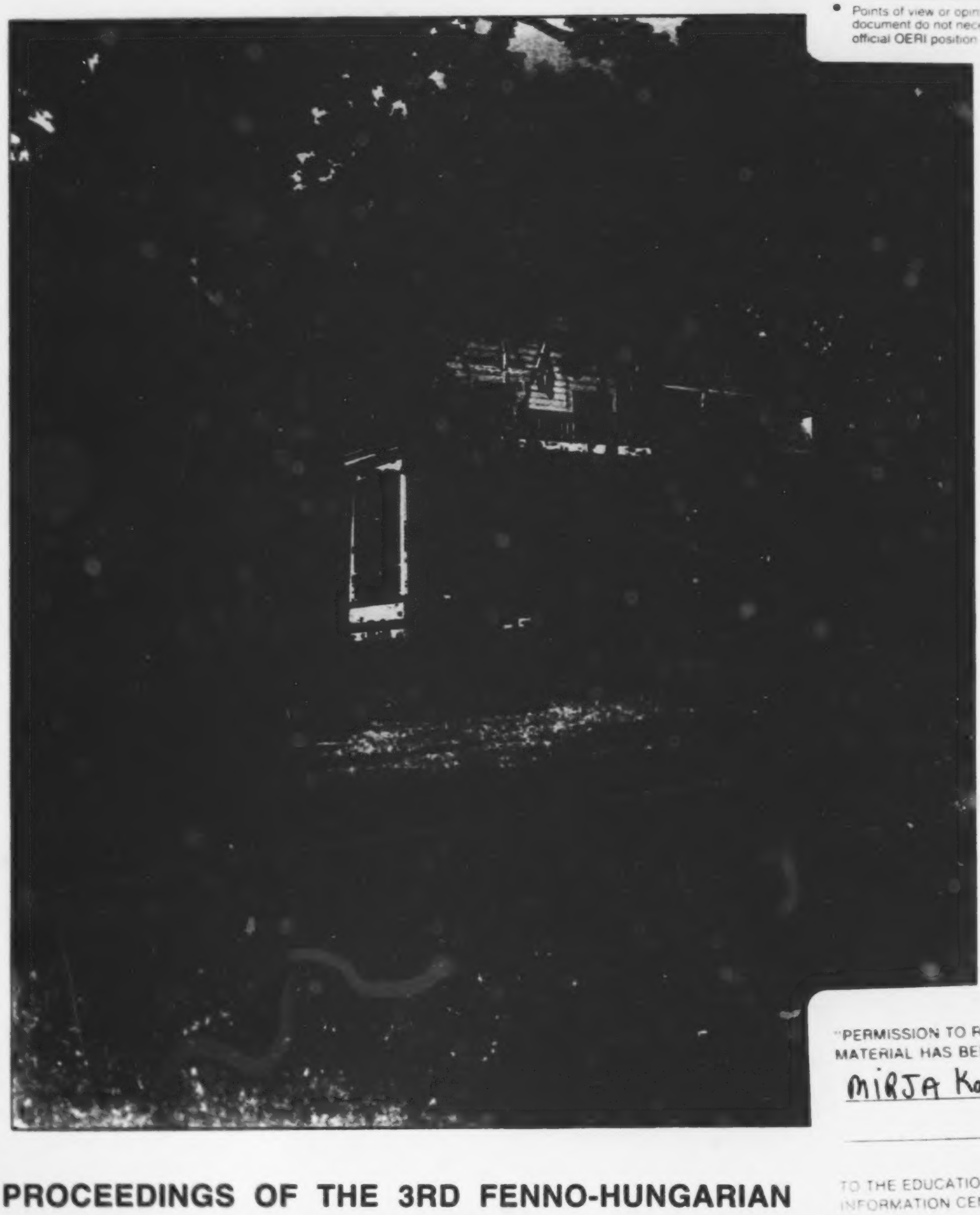

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PARENTS´ AND GRANDPARENTS´ ROLE

Proceedings from the 3rd Fenno-Hungarian Conference on Developmental Psychology

Mirja Kalliopuska (Ed.)

July 11 - 13, 1993

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PREFACE

This third Fenno-Hungarian bilateral Conference on Developmental Psychology on the theme of The Significance of Parents´ and Grandparents´ Role: Early Prevention as a Culture-Mediating Function and Interrelations of Three Generations was held in July 11. - 13. 1993, in Mukkula Manor, Lahti, Finland.

The main topic was divided into four main lines:

- Historical roots and child-rearing related to development of social competence through three generations
- Parent´s and child´s interactional patterns
- Parenthood and parent´s caregiving role
- Development of socio-cognitive competence through childhood and adolescence

The participants were the researchers of developmental and educational psychology, representing various universities and institutions in Hungary and Finland.

The sponsor of the Conference was the Finnish Academy of Sciences and University of Helsinki, Lahti Research and Training Centre as well as the Hungarian Culture and Science Centre in Finland.

The first Fenno-Hungarian Meeting was held in 1988, in Lahti, Finland. This interdisciplinary Meeting dealt with the psychological, educational and sociological problems of the modern family concepts, family types, and the changing socialization of today´s family. The presented papers are published in the Proceedings edited Mirja Kalliopuska: Children and family structure: Child and different relationships of recent family types. University of Helsinki, Lahti , 1991.

The second Fenno-Hungarian Conference was held in Budapest in 1991. This Meeting included the social-emotional development in a family and in apedagogical institution. The presented papers dealt with the effects of family background and life events, the role of parental values and attitudes, the development of personality and social competence, and the effects of psycho-pedagogical interventions. Papers are published in the Proceedings edited by Julia Sugar Kadar, Socio-Emotional Development in Family versus in Pedagogical Institution. Institute for Psychology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, 1992.

Mirja Kalliopuska, Editor

INFANTS' VOCALIZATION IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF INTERACTIONS

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The main problem of recent research has been to grasp and describe the aspects of the developmental phenomenon of the interpersonal- and situational sensitivity by the analyses of infants' utterances which occurred in different interactional situations.

SUBJECTS

20 infants (10 boys and 10 girls) whose average age were 8 months 25 days, average DQ (measured by Brunet-Lézine development scale) : 1.03. The infants' mothers are secondary school educated.

METHOD

The infants' vocalizations were registrated by tape-recorder and analyzed by Broel-Kjaer equipments.

In four kinds of interactive situations:

1. Mother-child role-taking play (peek-a-boo, give-and-take)
2. Mother-child interaction in a teaching type situation manipulating with a new toy
3. Spontaneous, solitary play of infant with any object making sound (rattle)
4. Spontaneous, solitary play with a soundless object (doll, ball, etc.)

The registered average time was 22 minutes by subjects.

RESULTS

Characteristics of emotions in the vocal activity

The highest vocal activity was observed in the role-taking type mother-infant interaction, see Figure 1. In that kind of interactions the infants' and mother's turn-taking utterances were accompanying by special turn-taking movements and gestures.

Some elements of rhythmicity appear not only in the role-taking alternation, but also in the repetition of similar or same prattles and in the child-specific similarities of time factors (duration, pausa) of vocalization the playing situation with rattle also shows some kinds of alternation: infant produces sound by own movement, shaking the rattle and this behavior alternates with utterances. Rhythmicity can be found in the alternation between the motor- and vocal activity in frequency, duration and intensity.

Comparing the above mentioned two turn-taking situations, both of them are characterized dominantly by emotion charged, outburst-like vocalization. See our earlier results, presented in the meetings of ISSBD, 1989, in Jyväskylä and in Stirling 1990, see Figure 2.

As we can see now the mother infant, interpersonal turn-taking awakes significant higher frequency and more stressed emotion in the vocalization, see Figure 3.

Between the two solitary playing situations there are not significant differences neither in frequency nor in proportion of emotional charged utterances.

The infants' vocalization of teaching situation is the most different from other observed interactions, this situation awakes the lowest vocal activity and most articulated utterances with small proportion (17%) of emotional charged voice, see Figure 3. The fewer emotional charged utterances has only weak relation with the theme and aim of the actual interaction: the successful common manipulation with a new object, but as we could see in an other paper (Pszichologia, 1991) happy emotion of the utterances companies mainly the independent manipulation and it appears in relation with the actual physical proximity to the mother, as an expression of the comfort feeling of self confidence.

Complexity of vocalization

(See Figure 4 and 5)

Proportion rank of the different level of articulation and complexity of utterances are very similar in the mother-infant role-taking and in the different playing situations. In all of these three situations the emotional charged unarticulated out burst-like voice takes the first place, and the unarticulated but intonated utterance takes the fourth or fifth place in the rank. Both of these kinds of vocalization generally characterize a much more earlier period of vocal development. But in these interactional situations infants express emotions applying parallel with the complex vowel-consonant voice connections and their repetition and variation, that characterize the sound-formation of development of the nine-month-old period. This direct teaching situation is quite different from the others by the proportion rank of the types of vocalization. In this kind of mother-infant interactions was mobilized the lowest vocal activity, as we have seen above and the emotional charged, unarticulated voices take the third and last place. It means that the direct teaching interactions between the mother and the infant awake a more developed vocalization, accompanying the co-manipulation, but it inhibites the actual emotional relations. (as we have mentioned above the positive emotional charged voices of this situation were born only in the cases of touching, body proximity between the mother and infant and the independent activity).

So if we believe (Spitz, Ainsworth, Bruner, Trevarthen, etc.) that the emotional dyadic relation is the most important basis of the socio-cognitive development than we also suppose -on the basis of our recent results - that the different kinds of indirect, emotional charged turn-taking interactions are the more successful ways to develop in the early period of life.

Figure No. 1.

Number of utterances in the different interactions

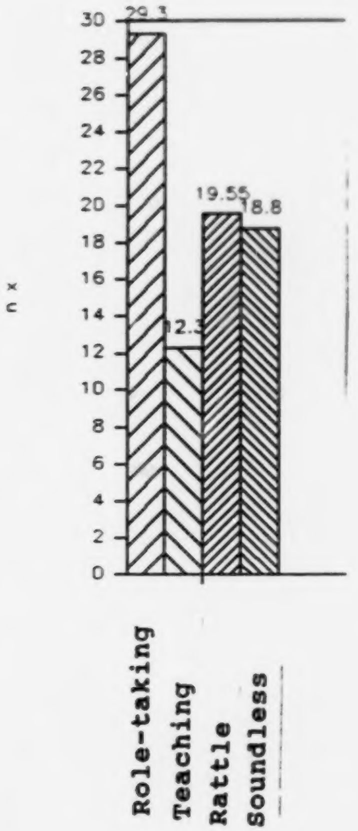
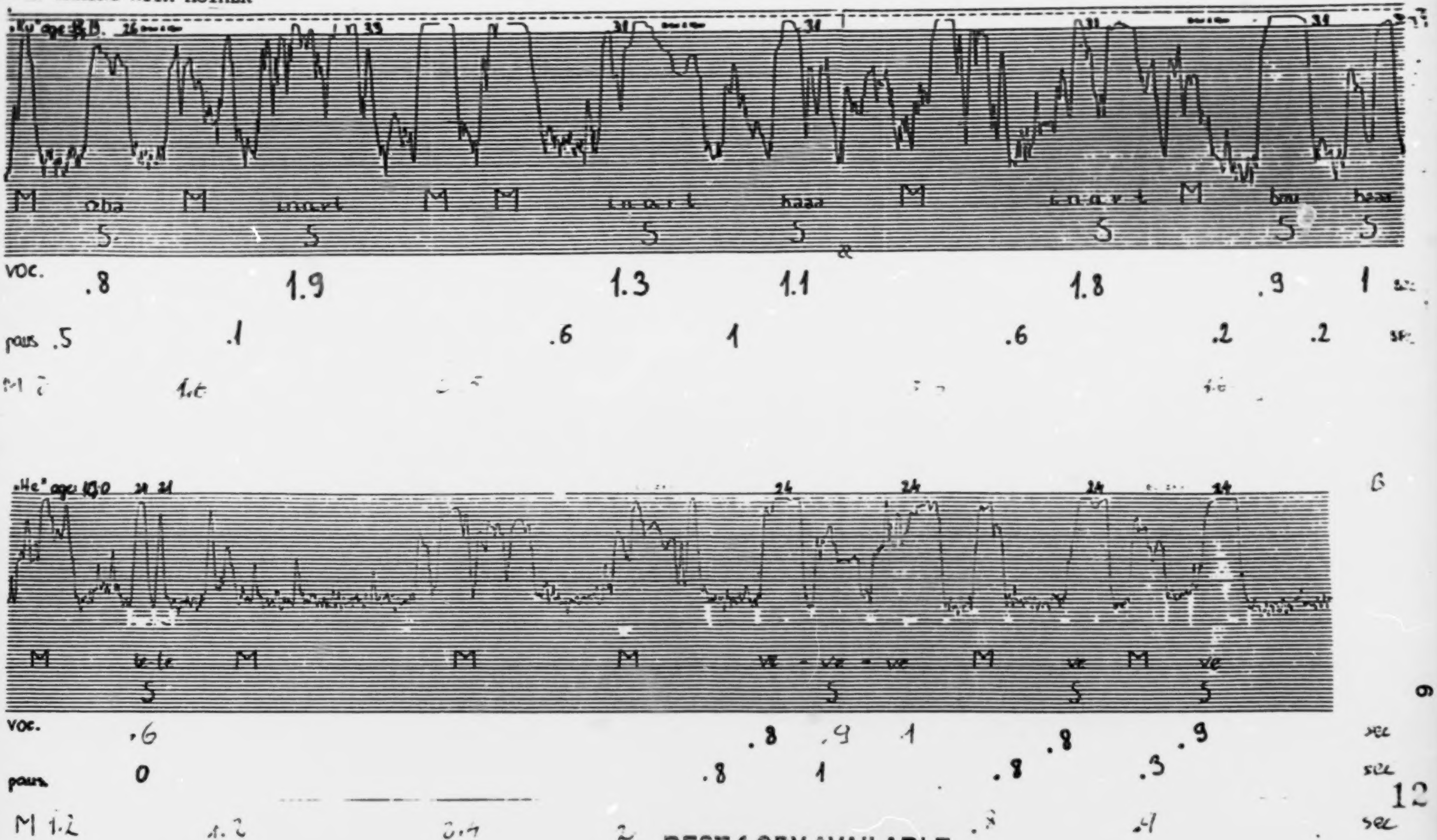


FIGURE No. 2.

ROLE TAKING WITH MOTHER



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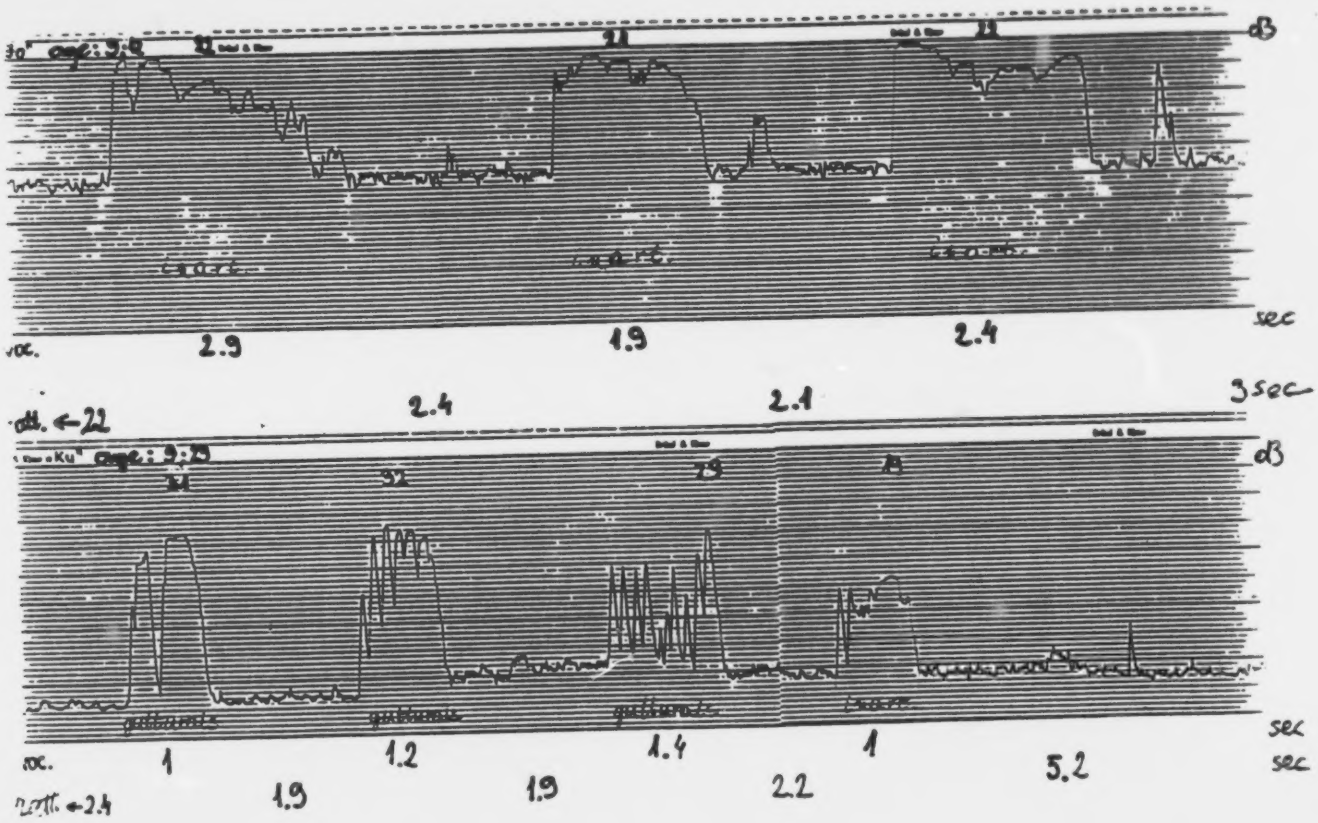
SOLITARY PLAY WITH RATTLE



RHYTHMICITY IN THE VOCALIZATION

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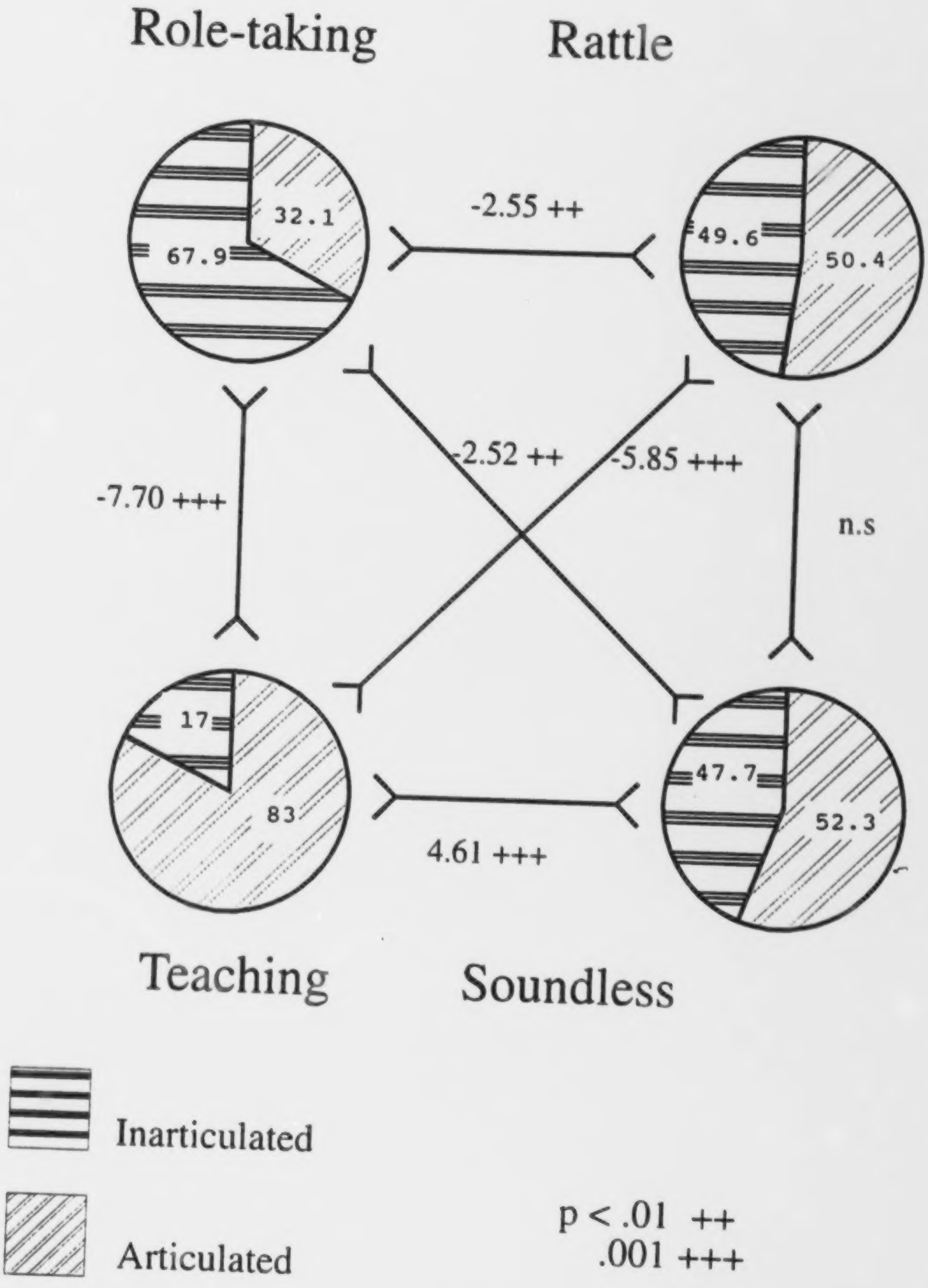
Figure No. 3.
Proportions (%) of articulated an inarticulated vocalization in the different kinds of interactions (t-test)



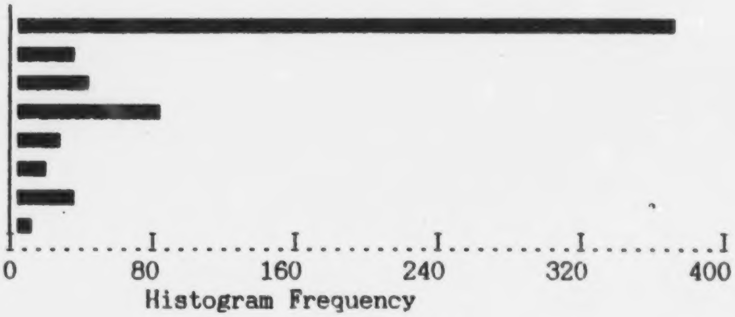
HISTOGRAMS OF THE COMPLEXITY OF VOCALIZATION IN THE DIFFERENT INTERACTIONS

FIGURE No. 4.

VALUES OF COMPLEXITY OF VOCALIZATION

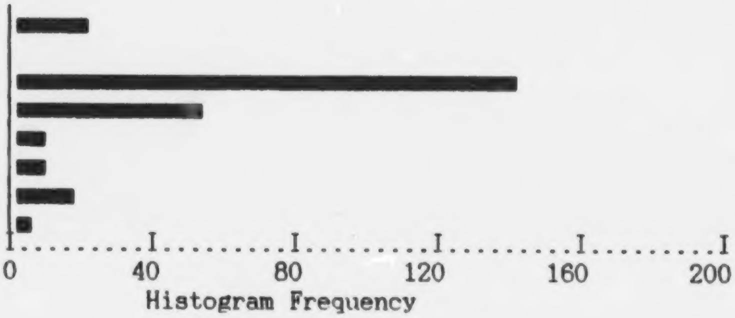
1 INARTICULATE SOUND
2 INTONATED INARTICULATION
3 DIPHTONGUS
4 VOWEL-CONSONANT
5 VOWEL-CONSONANT REPETITION
6 DIFFERENT VOWELS-CONSONANTS
7 DIFFERENT VOWELS-CONSONANTS REPETITION
8 WORD-LIKE, WORD

```
          ROLE TAKING WITH MOTHER
    COUNT         VALUE

      370          1.00
       29          2.00
       43          3.00
       76          4.00
       20          5.00
       16          6.00
       28          7.00
        5          8.00
```



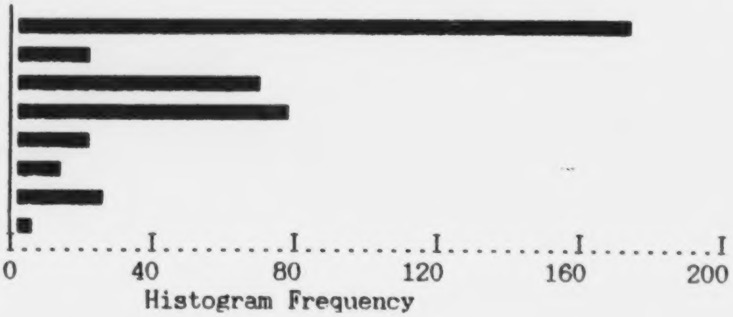
```
Valid Cases      587       Missing Cases      0
```

```
          TEACHING SITUATION WITH MOTHER
    COUNT         VALUE

       20          1.00
        1          2.00
      140          3.00
       53          4.00
        8          5.00
        7          6.00
       15          7.00
        2          8.00
```



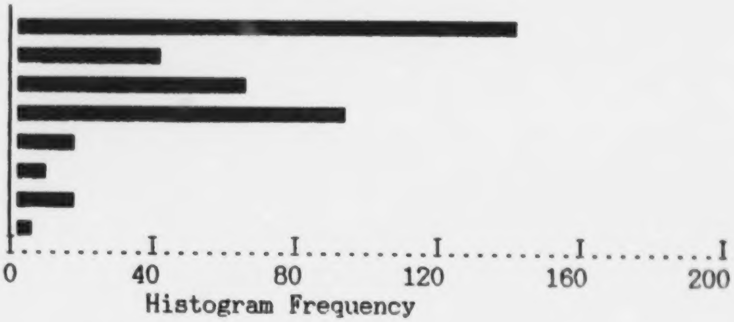
```
Valid Cases      246       Missing Cases   341
```

```
        SOLITARY PLAY WITH RATTLE
COUNT        VALUE

  173         1.00
   21         2.00
   66         3.00
   74         4.00
   18         5.00
   13         6.00
   23         7.00
    3         8.00
```



```
Valid Cases      391      Missing Cases   196
```

```
        SOLITARY PLAY WITH SOUNDLESS OBJECT
COUNT        VALUE

  140         1.00
   39         2.00
   64         3.00
   91         4.00
   17         5.00
    8         6.00
   15         7.00
    2         8.00
```



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Valid Cases      376      Missing Cases   211
```

FIGURE NO. 5.

RANK DIFFERENCES OF THE SOUND TYPES FREQUENCES IN THE DIFFERENT INTERACTIONS (ANOVA)

	ROLE-TAKING WITH MOTHER	SOLITARY PLAY WITH RATTLE	SOLITARY PLAY WITH SOUNDLESS OBJECT	TEACHING SITUATION
1.	INARTICULATE SOUND	INARTICULATE SOUND	INARTICULATE SOUND	DIPHTONGUS
2.	VOWEL-CONSOSTANT	VOWEL-CONSOSTANT	VOWEL-CONSOSTANT	VOWEL-CONSOSTANT
3.	DIPHTONGUS	DIPHTONGUS	DIPHTONGUS	INARTICULATE SOUND
4.	INTONATED INARTICULATE SOUND	REPETITION OF DIFFERENT VOWELS	INTONATED INARTICULATE SOUND	REPETITION OF DIFFERENT VOWELS
5.	REPETITION OF DIFFERENT VOWELS	INTONATED INARTICULATE SOUND	REPETITION OF VOWEL - CONSONANT	REPETITION OF VOWEL - CONSONANT
6.	REPETITON OF VOWEL-CONSONANT	REPETITION OF VOWEL - CONSONANT	REPETITION OF DIFFERENT VOWELS	DIFFERENT VOWELS - CONSONATS
7.	DIFFERENT VOWELS - CONSONANTS	DIFFERENT VOWELS - CONSONANTS	DIFFERENT VOWELS - CONSONANTS	WORD-LIKE SOUNDS, WORD
8.	WORD-LIKE SOUNDS, WORD	WORD-LIKE SOUNDS, WORD	WORD-LIKE SOUNDS, WORD	INTONATED INARTICULATE SOUND

```
>----------------------<  >------------------------<
        n. s.                   F= 1.663 (+)
                          >-----------------------------------------------------------<
                                                F= 4.069 +++
>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------<
                                   F= 2.189 +
```

p < .1 (+)
.05 +
.001 +++

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CHANGES AND SURVIVAL OF FAMILY EDUCATIONAL NORMS IN THE EDUCATION OF GRANDCHILDREN

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In consultations about the children's education the argument "I was brought up like this, too" very often emerges among the parents' arguments, as well as its opposite: "I don't want to bring them up the way my parents did". The childpsychologist, concentrating on the given problem, doesn't usually pay attention to the multi-generational significance of this statement; the psychodynamics between the generations rarely comes into prominence. The situation when the child-psychologist's ex-patient asks for help because of his own child's problems offers a special insight into the history of three generations' traditions. Remembering the past parent-child relationships, the well-known fact - that the young adult following consciously his parents' educational principles can unconsciously protest against them or after a conscious opposition as an adolescent he might imperceptibly realize the rejected norms - gets always plastic. I would like to present the different mixtures of these two tendencies using examples taken from my clinical praxis, so that afterwards I can make an attempt to outline the change of educational attitudes going beyond the individual cases.

I have known the parents mentioned in my examples mostly since their puberty. We all know that it is the puberty, the time when the demand of self-recognition and of independence from parents appears, that the individual formulates his own principles about the way of living and as a part of this, his ideas about education for the first time in an adultlike way. So conflicts which need childpsychologist usually include the confrontation of the parents' and the child's educational principles. Integrating the educational principles of the ex-patient coming back later as a parent into the story of the adolescent conflict, they can be evaluated in psychodynamic dimensions, too.

Apparently Benjamin follows faithfully the family norms; he demands outstanding achievement and adult-like responsible behaviour from his 8-year-old son even more strictly than his mother, a teacher, did. But his strictness can only be properly understood, if we regard it in the light of his adolescent protests. He had learnt almost nothing from his age of 10 on, and at his age 14 he was sent away from school because of his extremely self-willed behaviour, though everybody considered him very talented. In a round about way he got into college, then went abroad with some scholarship. At that time he protested against the family norms with a stormy marriage. (During the time of the scholarship his wife and son were abroad with him.) As he got back into an intellectual job after the adversities of his school years, he returned to his middle-class type of family after his marriage failure completed by his wife's psychosis again with the complete forgetting of the excesses; in his way of living and his educational practise he is more catholic than the Pope. His strictness is to keep his restrained protest within bounds.

Daisy escaped from her stormy youth back into the security of her own family similarly to the previous case. However, she has kept the right of the independent education of her child against her also very strict teacher-mother. She educates her daughter relying on childpsychological knowledge and with much empathy; in her approach her mother's achievement-centered attitude is pushed into the background by the effort aiming the unfolding of the child's personality. She regarded the family's demand of achievement - against which she protested with a troublesome, task-ignoring way of life during the puberty - again as normative only for herself. The expected achievement is the perfect education which is mainly characterized by tolerating the behaviour and efforts of the unfolding child.

Beside the criticism formulated in Daisy's and Benjamin's protest the parent-child relationship hadn't lost from its stability, that's why they could escape from their failures back to the parents' house until a restart.

However, in Ann's and Mary's case I saw that they strictly tried to remedy the basically spoiled relationship in their own educational practice. I have known Ann since her age of 10; at that time she was brought to me because of deconcentrated behaviour and achievement-troubles. In the background of these problems there were the conflicts of a rather disharmonious family. They lived together with the grandmother on the mother's side, who suffered from involutional paranoia getting worse and worse. Ann's father, he himself being a strongly introverted person having constant adaptational difficulties, had a rather bad relationship with mother-in-law. In the oppressing atmosphere established like that it was Ann's mother who tried to create peace and balance, and to direct her daughter's development towards healthiness. Among the conflicts of this family getting completely isolated from the outer world Ann escaped into an irreal phantasy-world, from which she was helped to escape by a puberal love. The affair considered to be too early upset the family and they only calmed down with the sudden marriage. - Some years later Ann came to me with her primary school age daughter. It turned out that the young love had turned into a harmonious marriage and they were bringing up three children in democratic atmosphere. Ann explained her daughter's problems that being the middle child she couldn't enforce her demands enough in the family. I myself was much more inclined to think that Ann - as a remedy for her own childhood conflicts - tried to protect her children against any kind of frustration. By establishing more definite boundaries she could diminish her daughter's anxieties, thus helping her in the socializational progress. - I must remark that a strange event threw light on the relations between the wrong interpreted toleration and the past. Ann also brought an acquainted boy to me, who escaped from his family conflicts into tramping. Ann - condemning parents who cannot relate to children - wanted to take the boy home, thus endangering the harmony of her own family. She could hardly understand that the help that is useless for the boy is an unconscious correction of her own story: the educational attitude that is open to the outer world and is very solidary with children was to remedy the past family model.

In Mary's case the conflict during the puberty became strained because of the mother's cold and demanding behaviour since the childhood. In spite of the mother's increasing dissatisfaction Mary's achievement and ability of adaptation always proved to be satisfactory. In Mary's case the sharpening conflict was relieved by the possibility of identification in the psychotherapeutic relation. She chose pedagogy as profession according to this spirit. Some years later - being worried primarily about a possible repetition of the bad mother-child relationship - she returned with her daughter. Talking about her educational principles, I considered her as a mature adult with much empathy, who manages not only to cultivate the good mother-child relationship, but - referring just to her own childhood trauma - also to put his husband off his overdemanding, authoritarian inclinations.

The correction of the parent-child relationship is the determinative motive in Steve's story, too. His mother had a loose way of life with quickly changing love affairs and didn't really care for her children who had different fathers. Steve was 12 years old when he got into an educational institute because of his circumstances. Despite his serious disappointments he upheld a steady relationship with his mother and took care of his younger brother, who lived in another institute, like a father. During the years in the institute the supportive psychotherapeutic relation offered Steve a mother-replacing connection to hold on. Getting on as a skilled worker he took a job abroad, so we could only meet again after long years, when - having remarried after an unsuccessful marriage - he tried to settle the future of his own daughter, of his wife's and of their common son: he wanted to provide a warm family nest for all three children. My impression was that he tried to provide that primarily for himself, as he found a very mothering wife looking after everything and everybody in the family. So the past-correcting educational principles are actually formulated by the wife; Steve just needed and found instinctively toleration and empathy towards the children in her. Their relationship is so much determined by this that Steve manages again and again to give up the occasionally emerging automatism of the primitive fatherly strictness. The family has moved to the country and started to run a farm. When the common child needed special education because of his weak abilities, Steve - fearing the horror of the boarding school - tried to extended the time of the nursery school education and to make possible the child's staying at home by individual developing occupations. Regarding his life story it is easy to understand that he wanted to protect his children from being educated in institutions; family as a safe island is the most important worth for him. It means not only emotional warmness, but also the possibility of free activity, as opposed to the earlier experiences of the workers' home and of assembly line work. His present life can be said to be symbolic protest against standardized institutional or city life. We can add that in a constructive way - he also left society, as his mother did at that time - in a way having destructive effects also on her children's lives. Steve was protected from the dangerous direction by his family and by his strong need of family life.

The family as a safe island is also very determinative in Ann's and Mary's way of life. They put their children to half a day's nursery schools, and did so quite late; Ann changed her work so that her daughter could avoid day-time home at school. They attached great importance to the organizing of family programmes which were appropriate for the children. The family protection as opposed to institutions is characteristic to Daisy's and even Benjamin's education: instead of a day-time home they take their children to the grandparents for the afternoon. Benjamin tries to realize also his achievement-demanding efforts by extra family occupations (lessons for maintaining their language-knowledge; catching up on the Hungarian curriculum).

So it is striking that beside the individual life stories and the differences of family psychodynamics the strong appreciation of the idea of family education is general. No doubt that the motherly care provided for children under three by the mothers' allowance existing in Hungary for 25 years and the simultaneously strengthening propagation of psychological knowledge had a great role in this. The 3-year-long intensive being together with the child gives chance for a further family-centered education with the child's interests in view. But, as it was a precondition of the introduction of the mothers' allowance, the social change that took place during the last 30 years in accordance with the loosening of the political terror was generally the basis of the awakening of the family-centered view, as well. From behind the obligatory phalansterian moral slowly the system of interests and values differing according to individual points of view appeared. The childhood of my ex-patients took place during these social changes; in their parent's educational practise the ideal of a standardizing society they were conditioned of in their own childhood still often emerges. The parents took on being away from home all day and overtime until late in the evening already for the sake of their individual /family/ well-doing, but due to the functioning of their old reflexes they accepted that meanwhile their children were brought up by an institution, the state. This ambiguity of the thinking of the ex-patients' parents justifies - also beyond the characteristics of the age-group or the individual traumas - the ex-patients' protests, which can also afterwards be seen as the presentation of the social change in an individual story.

The protest happened in terms of the emphasizing of the independent personality. The demand of a personal and accepting relation in the puberty, and consequently the ideal of the family integrity in the later parental behaviour is only one aspect of this. The other aspect is the protest against the demanding of achievement. The worth of achievement got bigger and bigger in the eyes of the parents of that time just because of the hope of the individual well-doing, and the protesting adolescents, becoming adults experienced the possibility of progress gained from individual efforts and training.

However, the demand of achievement that they as parents accepted remained contradictory in many cases. Those who carefully realized the educational principle aiming the unfolding of personality at kindergarten age become often irresolute when considering the school demands and the chances of progress. Benjamin makes his child accomplish everything that the school requires with the strictness of his parents, but also Ann - similarly to her mother - starts to doubt her daughter's abilities when seeing weaker results.

The patience taking the individual development into account seems to disappear when it is getting influenced by the social pressure realized in school demands. There are only few who manage to square the principle of liberal education with the dominance of demands. - George's story is an example for this. He grew up in a harmonious mother-child relationship; his mother observed his development with understanding attention, although she required maximal achievement according to her son's good abilities. George suited his mother's requirements without any protest, even in his puberty, but he was a rather inhibited, introverted boy. That's why his mother took him to the psychologist at that time. He became a patient, clever adult, who understands the needs of his stepdaughter much better than her pampering and demanding mother. His wife says that George is the one who understands the language of the child and can set up appropriate limits to the little girl's capricious and boundless wishes without authoritative rules. George's quickly established reputation shows that he could create appropriate balance between the toleration and empathy ensuring the unfolding and the demands providing the necessary boundaries. When they came to me, he expected me to confirm his educational principles and to persuade his wife.

Another typical, contradictory way of solicitude and demand, the infantilizing over-satisfaction as the reward of achievement can also be connected to the social change. The gap of emotional education often occurs in a way - as I talked about that in this circle in 1991*- that the parents exploiting the possibilities given by the social change - collect riches beyond their needs by work exceeding their strength - and meanwhile the real point of the efforts - the delight and the goals of the bringing up children and the family - get lost. The compensating over-satisfaction, which is also a reward of the achievement at the same time, causes confusion in the children. Their achievement does not serve their own delight or the parents' satisfaction, but is an exchange-value of the goods which can be received. Despite the custom of evaluation by points at school, it encourages a world without norms.

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*) Gerö, Z. (1991) A gap of emotional education: requirements making accelerated and satisfactions making infantile. Paper presented in the 2nd Fenno-Hungarian Conference on Developmental Psychology, 2-4 April, 1991, in Budapest.

The parents' and children's value-system getting vague like this gets often corrected by the grandparents. Those who had earlier brought up their children with the necessary empathy and toleration and thus are in a rather good, harmonious relationship with their adult children can realize their well proved norms also in the education of grandchildren. - In her flat with garden Peter's grandmother manages to set the frames for the afternoon studying and game, thus avoiding that in the evening the boy - otherwise given an adult independence - should be forced to study by means of hysterical scenes contradicting the parents' principles. - The nursery school child, John - according to his mother's report - has time and place to play only at the grandmother living in the country, because the parents' hectic life cannot - even despite their intention - provide any sort of order for the child.

On the basis of clinical experiences about the life of three generations, it seems that the influence of the social changes on the educational practice appears in the liberalization of the disciplining - the emphasizing of the individual instead of the standardized. It can be added that urged by the psychological information this process took place all over the world, among other social circumstances, as well, and nowadays already contradictory tendencies correcting extreme solutions can be experienced, too. In the Hungarian process it seems to be special, that the value-system getting confused in all aspects due to the social changes leads in many cases to the complete lack of values giving frame in the everyday educational practice.

So there is no point of relation which could show, where the balance of the toleration making the unfolding possible and the demands necessary to the proving suitable in society is. In the stories of three generations it is the demand of achievement that seems to be crucial and that usually cannot be organically integrated with the changed educational principles. However, we can experience in case of a few parents that - observing their child's developing from the early childhood until the growing up - they manage to consider cleverly the goals and - similarly to George - they try to set the requirements according to the child's interest and efforts. I would like to hope that the change of attitude in education can happen more generally also in this aspect.

HISTORICAL ROOTS OF SEX-ATYPICAL CAREERS OF POST-SECONDARY GIRLS: A THREE-GENERATIONAL ANALYSIS

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Men and women are employed alike, but not in same occupations. Occupations are segregated by sex. Hence the notion of sex-atypical educational or occupational choice. The concept as such refers to a statistical fact, it is not theoretical as such. But the fact in turn reflects in a multi-faceted way the gender system of Western societies. The present paper sheds new light on the patterns of sex-atypical occupational choices by examining waves of occupational mobility after the World War II. The investigation is longitudinal in the concrete sense that the adolescents, who were the key subjects, were investigated three times. It is three-generational in the sense that some information was obtained about parents and grandparents, too (cf. A.R. Nummenmaa, 1992; A.R. Nummenmaa, T. Nummenmaa & Vanhalakka-Ruoho, 1987).

HYPOTHESIS

The main argument is, that at least in part the explanation of the girls' choosing sex-atypical occupations can be found in the process of post-war industrialization and in the associated educational upward movement. For the boys, the things are different, because there were no important women's professions to be occupied by educational efforts. This means that some factors relating to grandparents' urbanization should predict the educational level in the next generation, which in turn should predict children's higher educational levels for both sexes, but sex-atypicality only for the girls. This hypothesis can be put into the form of a longitudinal model and so tested.

SUBJECTS

Adolescents

When the investigation was begun in the fall 1983, data were obtained from 2546 students, who represented final grades of the compulsory schools (9 years) and high schools (gymnasia, 12 years). The schools were so chosen that the geographical regions covered both urban and rural areas in different parts of Finland. The subjects of the present article are all those 12th year high school students of 1983 who also participated in 1987 and 1991. There were 338 such postsecondary girls and 170 such boys. Originally the number of girls was 524 and that of boys 290, so that the percentages participating in all three stages were 65% and 59 %, respectively. The all-Finland proportion of girls/boys in high school is about 60/40.

Parents and grandparents

No precise information about the ages of the parents or grandparents was obtained, but it is an approximate fact that the parents of students matriculating in 1983 would have been adolescents somewhere in late 1950's or perhaps in early 1960's. The grandparents were adolescents in 1930's or 1940's, respectively. To put this simply, the grandparents still lived in an agricultural society, where the meaning of education after the compulsory was generally scarce.

The parents were already higher educated, and the future of the students matriculating 1983 depended much on the educational factors. The special problems of sex-atypical educational and occupational choices would then be seen as a part of general social trends relating to the postsecondary education of girls. The roots of this development are in part historical, even if the final decision is the individual's own.

VARIABLES

The uppermost part of Table1 defines the variables of the present investigation. There are four grandparent variables. The dichotomy between rural, mainly agricultural, occupations and all other occupations seemed to be the most reliable of the relatively few measures that were available for the grandfathers. On the other hand, the values of the corresponding grandmother variables were nearly redundant with the grandfather variables, for obvious reasons of assortative mating. But the information whether the grandmothers had been engaged in salaried work was available and was less redundant, and the grandmother variables were based on this. Only two parent variables were included, the educational levels of father and mother, respectively. The adolescent variables represented academic interest and achievement on one hand, and interest in sex-atypical careers on on the other. All these variables are meaningful both psychologically and sociologically.

MODELS

PRELIS (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1988) was used to compute the correlations according to the coding specifications given in the uppermost part of Table 1. The correlations between the academic achievement variables and the sex-atypicality variables were positive and significant for the girls, but about zero and irregular for the boys. Models involving two latent variables within the adolescent were therefore relevant only for the girls. The lower part of Table 1 gives the correlations for the girls.

For reasons of simplicity, two separate models were fitted, starting both from the two grandfathers and from the two grandmothers, respectively. The models were written in y-variables only. The idea of a very simple basic recursive model has been illustrated in Figure 1.

Actually, the beta matrices were subdiagonal with all elements free. The essential parameters from the computer release of LISREL 7 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1989) are given in Table 2. The systems are based on four latent variables, each. The longitudinal models aim at reflecting the development of the society and the processes of occupational mobility described above.

CONCLUSION

The models fit well and the main idea stands the test. As to the grandparents, the squared multiple correlations for structural equations do indeed indicate, that the 1st generation's rural-urban variation predicts higher level of education for the next. The inclusion of all the four grandparents into one and the same model is possible without complications. The educational level of the 2nd generation, i.e. the parents, predicts the adolescent girls' gymnasium and university careers, which are further associated with sex-atypical fields of study and occupation. It should finally be mentioned, that while all coefficients of the subdiagonal beta matrix are nonzero, the connections between the links shown in Figure 1 are substantial.

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TABLE 1. THE ABBREVIATIONS OF VARIABLE NAMES, INFORMATION OF THEIR CONTENTS, AND SPECIFICATIONS OF CODING ARE GIVEN IN THE UPPER PART OF THE TABLE, WHILE THE POLYCHORIC AND POLYSERIAL CORRELATIONS ARE GIVEN IN THE LOWER PART OF IT.

VARIABLES

ABBREVIATION	REFERENT	CODING, ALL VARIABLES EXCEPT SCHOACAD ARE ORDINAL
FATFAOCC	OCCUPATION OF FATHER'S FATHER	1 = AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, FISHING, &c.
MOTFAOCC	OCCUPATION OF MOTHER'S FATHER	2 = ALL ELSE, i.e., NOT RELATED TO AGRICULTURE
FATMWORK	WORKING OF FATHER'S MOTHER	1 = WORKING ON FARM OR AT HOME, NOT IN SALARIED WORK
MOTMWORK	WORKING OF MOTHER'S MOTHER	2 = IN SALARIED WORK ON ANY FIELD
FATHEDUC	FATHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	1 = LESS THAN COMPULSORY EDUCATION (POSSIBLE THOUGH RARE)
MOTHEDUC	MOTHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	8 = UNIVERSITY DEGREE
SCHOACAD	SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT OF ADOLESCENT	CONTINUOUS VARIABLE = AVERAGE SCHOOL MARKS
EDUCLEVE	ACADEMIC CAREER	1 = UNIVERSITY STUDIES / DEGREE 2 = NO UNIVERSITY
SEXAOCCU	SEX-ATYPICALITY OF OCCUPATION	1 = OCCUPATION/EDUCATION OF OWN SEX 2 = DOMINATED BY OWN SEX
SEXAEDUC	SEX-ATYPICALITY OF EDUCATION	3 = UNDIFFERENTIATED 4-5 = DOMINATED BY OPPOSITE SEX

THE INTERCORRELATIONS OF VARIABLES, N=235

	FATFAOCC	FATMWORK	MOTFAOCC	MOTMWORK	FATHEDUC	MOTHEDUC	SCHOACAD	EDUCLEVE	SEXAOCCU	SEXAEDUC
FATFAOCC	1.000									
FATMWORK	.824	1.000								
MOTFAOCC	.564	.371	1.000							
MOTMWORK	.414	.265	.652	1.000						
FATHEDUC	.332	.417	.289	.284	1.000					
MOTHEDUC	.165	.228	.349	.342	.687	1.000				
SCHOACAD	-.014	-.057	-.042	-.028	.255	.300	1.000			
EDUCLEVE	-.030	-.027	.013	.051	.306	.338	.724	1.000		
SEXAOCCU	.040	.151	.143	.006	.149	.111	.356	.523	1.000	
SEXAEDUC	-.051	.105	.084	-.099	.119	.144	.303	.463	.774	1.000

TABLE 2. COMPARISON BETWEEN 3-GENERATIONAL MODELS STARTING FROM THE GRANDFATHERS AND THE GRANDMOTHERS, RESPECTIVELY. THE MODELS ARE WRITTEN IN TERMS OF Y-VARIABLES. REMEMBER, PLEASE, THAT THE DEFINITIONS OF GRANDFATHER AND GRANDMOTHER VARIABLES WERE NOT SIMILAR (CF. TABLE 1).

GRANDFATHERS -> PARENTS -> POSTSECONDARY GIRL

```
 LISREL ESTIMATES (WEIGHTED LEAST SQUARES)
 LAMBDA Y
             GRANDFAT    FATH&MOT    ACADEMIC    SEXATYPI
            ________    ________    ________    ________
 FATFAOCC      1.000        .000        .000        .000
 MOTFAOCC      1.362        .000        .000        .000
 FATHEDUC       .000       1.000        .000        .000
 MOTHEDUC       .000        .991        .000        .000
 SCHOACAD       .000        .000       1.000        .000
 EDUCLEVE       .000        .000       1.449        .000
 SEXATYP3       .000        .000        .000       1.000
 SEXATYP4       .000        .000        .000        .871

 BETA
             GRANDFAT    FATH&MOT    ACADEMIC    SEXATYPI
            ________    ________    ________    ________
 GRANDFAT       .000        .000        .000        .000
 FATH&MOT       .586        .000        .000        .000
 ACADEMIC      -.285        .433        .000        .000
 SEXATYPI       .256       -.154        .797        .000

 COVARIANCE MATRIX OF ETA
             GRANDFAT    FATH&MOT    ACADEMIC    SEXATYPI
            ________    ________    ________    ________
 GRANDFAT       .414
 FATH&MOT       .243        .694
 ACADEMIC      -.013        .231        .498
 SEXATYPI       .058        .140        .358        .888

 PSI
             GRANDFAT    FATH&MOT    ACADEMIC    SEXATYPI
            ________    ________    ________    ________
                .414        .551        .395        .608

 SQUARED MULTIPLE CORRELATIONS FOR STRUCTURAL EQUATIONS
             GRANDFAT    FATH&MOT    ACADEMIC    SEXATYPI
            ________    ________    ________    ________
                .000        .205        .208        .314

CHI-SQUARE WITH  14 DEGREES OF FREEDOM = 4.83 (P = .988)
                   GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX =  .997
          ADJUSTED GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX =  .993
                ROOT MEAN SQUARE RESIDUAL =  .034
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GRANDMOTHERS -> PARENTS -> POSTSECONDARY GIRL

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 LISREL ESTIMATES (WEIGHTED LEAST SQUARES)
 LAMBDA Y
             GRANDMOT    FATH&MOT    ACADEMIC    SEXATYPI
            ________    ________    ________    ________
 FATMWORK      1.000        .000        .000        .000
 MOTMWORK       .888        .000        .000        .000
 FATHEDUC       .000       1.000        .000        .000
 MOTHEDUC       .000        .947        .000        .000
 SCHOACAD       .000        .000       1.000        .000
 EDUCLEVE       .000        .000       1.452        .000
 SEXATYP3       .000        .000        .000       1.000
 SEXATYP4       .000        .000        .000        .876

 BETA
             GRANDMOT    FATH&MOT    ACADEMIC    SEXATYPI
            ________    ________    ________    ________
 GRANDMOT       .000        .000        .000        .000
 FATH&MOT      1.181        .000        .000        .000
 ACADEMIC     -1.017        .818        .000        .000
 SEXATYPI       .858       -.545       1.003        .000

 COVARIANCE MATRIX OF ETA
             GRANDMOT    FATH&MOT    ACADEMIC    SEXATYPI
            ________    ________    ________    ________
 GRANDMOT       .298
 FATH&MOT       .352        .726
 ACADEMIC      -.015        .236        .497
 SEXATYPI       .049        .143        .356        .882

 PSI
             GRANDMOT    FATH&MOT    ACADEMIC    SEXATYPI
            ________    ________    ________    ________
                .298        .311        .288        .561

 SQUARED MULTIPLE CORRELATIONS FOR STRUCTURAL EQUATIONS
             GRANDMOT    FATH&MOT    ACADEMIC    SEXATYPI
            ________    ________    ________    ________
                .000        .572        .420        .364

CHI-SQUARE WITH  14 DEGREES OF FREEDOM = 6.59 (P = .949)
                    GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX = .996
           ADJUSTED GOODNESS OF FIT INDEX = .990
                ROOT MEAN SQUARE RESIDUAL =      .044
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UPBRINGING AND DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THREE GENERATIONS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WANTEDNESS - UNWANTEDNESS OF THE CHILD

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As a part of a longitudinal research project "The Oulu Mother-Child study" (Wasz-Höckert and Seitamo) aimed at developing a method for detecting potential risk factors and groups revealing an inadequate early mother-child relationship, the significance of wantedness - unwantedness of the child was studied. The crucial questions are whether

1. wantedness-unwantedness,
2. a mother's psychophysiological reactions to baby cry signal,
3. her emotional attitudes to her newborn baby and her images of her role in child rearing,
4. her personality,
5. the state of her marriage, and
6. her own experiences of mothering in childhood measured shortly after delivery would form a cluster of factors predicting the child's cognitive, affective and social development.

SUBJECTS AND METHODS

All primiparas and all secundiparas who were admitted to the University Central Hospital in Oulu in 1971 and 1972 and who delivered a healthy baby were studied 3-5 days after delivery: 309 primiparas (mean age 22.2 years) and 182 secundiparas (25.5 years). The mothers coming from rural area comprise a total sample. A follow-up study of these mothers and their respective children was carried out in 1978-1979. 228 (73.7 %) of the primiparas and 126 (69.2 %) of the secundiparas answered a questionnaire and 120 of them and their respective children were investigated personally. The mean age of the children was 7 years 5 months.

The personality of the mother was investigated by EPI-C (Eysenck) The other factors were measured by using questionnaires filled in by the mothers (5-7 point rating scales). Several sum-scales were constructed on the basis of factor analyses.

Wantedness-unwantedness was measured by a question whether the child was wanted: 1 = very much, 2 = to some extent, 3 = not at all.

The psychophysiological reactions were defined by measuring skin temperature. A thermograph was used to record the temperature of the skin over the anterior chest wall before and after cry stimulus from a tape recorder.

Statistical analyses were based on ANOVA (one-way and, finally two-way) and Chi-square test.

RESULTS

Parity and wantedness-unwantedness of the child

Table 1 shows the percentages of wantedness-unwantedness of the child. The first born children were significantly more often very much wanted than the second born children, but the percentage of unwanted children was about the same for both groups: about 5 %; 16 children in the first born and 10 children in the second born.

Table 1 Child wanted-unwanted

Wanted	I-Parae N=309 %	II-Parae N=182 %	Total N=491 %
Very much	73	58	67
Fairly	22	35	27
Not at all	5	5	5
No answer			1

Marital state and wantedness-unwantedness

Table 2 presents the relationship of the marital state and the duration of marriage with wantedness-unwantedness of the child in the primiparas. Thirty (10 %) of the primiparas were not married, and 128 (41 %) of the primiparas had married less than a year ago. The pregnancy was less wanted and most of the unwanted children belonged to these groups. The child was most wanted during a period from the first to the second year after the marriage.

Table 2 Duration of marriage of the primiparae and wantedness-unwantedness of the child

	WANTED very much %	fairly %	not at all %	all
Not married (30)	53	27	20	6
Married >1 year (128)	59	34	6	7
1-2 yrs (101)	80	17	3	3
3-4 yrs (34)	82	18	-	-
5- yrs (7)	71	29	-	-

Six children were born to unmarried and seven children during the first year of the marriage to secundiparas, but there was no relationship between the wantedness-unwantedness and the state/duration of the marriage.

Socioeconomic factors and wantedness-unwantedness

The results show that a poor socioeconomic situation was a reality which prevented mothers to feel the child wanted. Of particular importance for primiparous mothers was the husband's work near home compared with at considerable distance.

Socio-emotional factors in the marriage and wantedness-unwantedness

Table 3 indicates that the closer unwantedness was approached the less happy was the marriage, the poorer the interaction between the spouses and colder emotionally and the more significant the drinking problems of the husband for the primiparas.

Table 3 **Socio-emotional factors in the marriage and wantedness -> unwantedness**

	I-Parae $p < (X^2)$	II-Parae $p < (X^2)$
Marriage: less happy	.01	.05
Husband: not easy to talk with him		
- as a rule	.001	.01
- about child-rearing	.01	.001
- not tender	.01	.05
- drinking problems	.01	-

Mother's own childhood, personality and wantedness-unwantedness

Results presented in Table 4 indicated that among the secundiparous mothers both personality factors of the neuroticism of the mother and impulsiveness (EPI-C) - and satisfaction with one's own upbringing emerged as significant antecedent factors for the wantedness-unwantedness of the child.

Table 4 **Mother's own childhood, personality and wantedness ->unwantedness**

II-Parae	$p< (X^2)$
Not content with own upbringing	.01
Mother: not rewarding	.01
Father: did not speak freely about sexual matters	.05
Personality:	
More neurotic	.05
More impulsive	.05

The impact of wantedness-unwantedness on pregnancy and delivery

Table 5 presents the impact of unwantedness of the child on secundiparous mother's experiences of pregnancy and delivery. The nearer unwantedness was approached the less prepared the secundiparous mothers were for child birth and delivery, the more likely they were to experience difficulties/pain/nausea during the first months, and to be afraid of delivery, and find delivery difficult. No such relations emerged in the primiparous mothers.

Table 5 Pregnancy and wantedness->unwantedness

II-Parae	p< (X^2)
Less prepared for childbirth	.001
and for delivery	.05
Difficulties during the first months	.05
Fear of delivery	.05
Delivery not easy	.05

The impact of wantedness-unwantedness on maternal responses

Table 6 shows the impact of unwantedness on maternal responses in as well primi- as secundiparas. The consequences of a less wanted pregnancy appeared very clearly in the basic mother-child relationship: in breast-feeding and psychophysiological reactivity to a cry signal of an infant. As a function of unwantedness the breast-feeding was less pleasant at the very beginning and later on, for both groups of mothers; and for the secundiparas it evoked painful feelings, as well.

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Table 6 Breastfeeding

Wantedness->Unwantedness and maternal responses	I-Parae $p<(X^2)$	II-Parae $p<(X^2)$
Breastfeeding not pleasant		
- at first	.05	.05
- later on	.01	.01
Breastfeeding painful		
- at first	-	.10
- later on	-	.05
	$p<(f)$	$p<(f)$
Psychophysiological reactions to baby cry signal weak	.01	.01

The thermographic reactions to a hunger cry signal of an infant were weaker in those mothers whose pregnancy had been less wanted.

The impact of wantedness-unwantedness on aims in child rearing

Table 7 presents the impact of wantedness-unwantedness of the child on the intentions of the secundiparous mothers to express love and to use control in upbringing. The nearer unwantedness was approached the less the secundiparous mothers intended to express love to the child and the more they intended to use an authoritarian control.

Table 7 Wantedness-> Unwantedness of the child. Child rearing intentions of the secundiparous mothers

Love dimension	$p<(X^2)$
Will not/ do not intend to	
- show love	.001
- take the child on one´s lap/arms	.001
- reward the child	.10
- talk with the child	.01
Authoritarian control	
Will/ intend to	
- use threats	.05
- restrict crying	.05
- use enforcement	.10

Child development: Follow-up study

Sense of confidence

In this report only a few results of the impact of wantedness-unwantedness on child development will be discussed. The direction of the arrows in the figures to be presented, indicate a higher degree of the characteristics in question (ANOVA: significant increasing tendencies).

Figure 1 shows that the more the child had been wanted the better equipped the child was to seek affection/protection in frustration situations from his/her parents.

Figure 1: Wantedness-unwantedness of the child follow-up after 6-7 years

Seeking affection/protection in frustration situations

Very much wanted

Comes to
- Mother´s lap/arms
- Father´s lap/arms

Not wanted

Fears

Figure 2 shows that the less wanted the second born child had been the more he/she was afraid of pet animals: cats and dogs. Of significance was the fact that no such relationship was found as regards the fear of wild animals, or imaginary figures. The aspect of warm emotions usually associated with pet animals seems to be important: it points to fear of warm emotions as a rule/and implies the same components as the child´s relationship to the parents.

Figure 2: Wantedness-unwantedness of the child follow-up after 6-7 years

Fear of pet animals

Very much wanted

Afraid of cats
Afraid of dogs

Not wanted

Empathetic problem solving

The tendency to resolve problematic situations (Figure 3) by means of empathetic behaviour was weaker in unwanted girls than in wanted girls - the reverse was the case among the boys.

Figure 3: Wantedness-unwantedness of the child. Follow-up after 6-7 years

Behaviour in frustration situations: empathetic problem solving

Empathetic problem solving (Factor)	Girls (181) Wanted	Boys (169) Wanted
Goes to others´ defence Empathizes Makes amends Apologizes for doing wrong		
	Not wanted	Not wanted

Aggressive behaviour

The same tendency as was the case regarding empathetic behaviour was true of outward aggressive behaviour (Figure 4): The unwanted girls were outwardly more aggressive than the wanted girls, but the unwanted boys were less aggressive than wanted boys. These results were clearer in the second born than in first born children.

Figure 4: Wantedness-unwantedness of the child. Follow-up after 6-7 years

Behaviour in frustration situations: aggressivity

Outwardly aggressive (Factor)	Girls	Boys
	Wanted	Wanted
Fights		
Runs off		
Swears		
Tells lies		
Takes without permission		
Does not come home on time		
	Not wanted	Not wanted

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The results indicate that the mothers of less wanted children were more often unmarried than the mothers of more wanted children, their socioeconomic state was less favourable, and interaction between the spouses was poorer and emotionally colder. The less the child was wanted the more decisively this fact prevented a mother's maternal responses both at the psychophysiological and the psychological level. For these mothers breastfeeding was less pleasant. Their aims in upbringing reflected less love and more punitive control.

Wantedness-unwantedness of the pregnancy can have far reaching consequences for child development. What is of importance is not only unwantedness of the child but also the fact to what degree the child is really wanted. It is evident that when a pregnancy is wanted the preconditions exist for development of warm confident parent-child relationships which form basis for a favourable child development. The results of an opposite direction of aggressive behaviour and of empathetic problem solving in boys and girls are most interesting: though these are opposite at first glance, they are nevertheless consistent when interpreted in the context of child rearing norms: in our culture as in western cultures generally, outward aggressive behaviour is more tolerated, even reinforced and more typical for boys than for girls, while empathetic behaviour more typical for girls than for boys. This being the case, the true consistency emerges: in the direction of unwantedness what increases is the kind of aggressive and empathetic behaviour in children which is less reinforced and less typical for the gender in question.

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THE HUMAN RELATIONS OF RETIRED PEOPLE, THEIR SELF-ACTUALIZATION AND THEIR FAITH IN THE FUTURE

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the study was to explore retired person´ relations with their grandchildren, their human relations in general, their experiences in the past, present and future as well as their self-actualization. This study is a rough pilot screening dealing with the relationships of three generations and self-actualization of retired people. It is earlier found that the high self-actualized individuals would report lower levels of trait anxiety and higher levels of optimism and self-esteem than others. If the grandparent is satisfied with his/her relations in general, he/she expresses responsibility toward grandchildren and is content with them. The self-actualized grandparent lives for the future in the hope of " time will show".

In psychology area the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is quite poorly studied. Especially experiences and feelings towards grandchildren are mainly neglected. In any case the ideal grandparent -grandchild relationship is independent, and successfully supported by the middle adult generation as Kennedy (1992) stated.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN

Clingempeel et al. (1992) studied 186 children aged 9-13 years, their mothers, and maternal grandparents from 186 Caucasian, middle-class families. Of the families 73 were intact families, 64 mother-custody, single-parent families, and 49 stepfamilies. They all completed questionnaires focusing on the degree of children's perceived closeness and frequency of contact with maternal grandparents at two time periods 13 months apart. Children also completed questionnaires nine months later during a third interview.

Grandparents, and especially grandfathers, were more involved with grandchildren from single-parent families. Pubertal status results supported the "emotional distancing" hypothesis for grandfather-granddaughter -relationships (higher pubertal status, less involvement) and the "stress buffer" hypothesis for grandsons' relationships with both grandparents (greater change in physical development, more involvement and thus greater perceived closeness).

In the Kennedy's study (1992) 391 young adults at a midwest university responded to questions concerning the quality of their relationships with their "most close" grandparent. Responses of the students validated the following five elements of quality as being associated with successful grandparent- grandchild relationships. They included a fairly high degree of closeness, a strong sense of being known by the grandparent, a strong sense of the young adult's knowing the grandparent, a sense of the grandparent being a fairly strong influence in the life of the grandchild, and a sense of an authentic or independent grandparent-grandchild -relationship not dominated by, but supported by, the middle adult generation.

Timberlake et al.(1992) studied grandmotherhood among 100 African American middle-class grandmothers. They examined how grandmothers perceived themselves in relationship to their grandchildren. The subjects completed interviews regarding 1 daughter's elementary school child. The instrument contained demographic information and three scales operationalizing the dependent variable value of grandchildren and the independent variables personal circumstances and situational context. The subjects valued their grandchildren as contributors to an expansion of the subjects' self-concepts over time. For one half of the subjects, the dimensions of social identity and affiliation with others were important. Dimensions of the grandmother role least valued by subjects were not essential for family survival. Subjects who assumed the role later in life or who provided more parenting activities with the least parental mediation valued their grandchildren most highly.

Roberto and Stroes (1992) explored the significance of grandparents in the lives of young adult grandchildren. 142 college students (aged 17-54 yrs) completed a questionnaire that examined frequency of activities with their grandparents, value development, relationship solidarity, and role conception. While current interactions with grandparents were infrequent, subjects did perceive their grandparents, particularly their grandmothers, as influential in their value development. Subjects reported stronger relationships with grandmothers than with grandfathers. Differences in participation, value development, and relationships were also found according to the role (apportioned vs remote) in which subjects conceptualized grandparents.

Kennedy (1989) made a survey of 574 university students that showed subjects felt an expressed responsibility toward and experienced strong emotional ties with their grandparents.

Hodgson (1992) conducted a national survey of 208 adult grandchildren (aged 18-59 yrs) concerning relationships with their closest grandparent. Levels of contact and perceptions of closeness were the indices used to evaluate the strength of the bonds between the cross-generations. Along these two dimensions, grandchild-grandparent -relationships were significant and meaningful. Although there was diversity among the subjects, interaction levels were high for most. Most subjects reported that their relationships with their grandparents are close and enduring. Several factors were related to the strength of the grandchild-grandparent bonds: age, lineage, geographical proximity, the child-parent relationship, and the parent-grandparent relationship.

Kennedy (1991) tried to find out grandchildren's reasons for closeness with grandparents. Data were obtained from 212 female and 179 male (85% White, 13% Black) young adult grandchildren the reasons for the close relationship with their closest grandparent.

67% of the subjects came from intact families, 18% from single-parent families, and 15% from stepfamilies, and they all completed a 29-statement questionnaire. They enjoyed the personality of the grandparent and activities shared with the grandparent; experiencing the grandparent's appreciation, individual attention, and support; and relating to the grandparent as model and source of inspiration were rated high. Subjects from stepfamilies spent more time with grandparents and affirmed many reasons for closeness. Blacks identified grandparents as surrogate parents. Subjects enjoyed time spent with grandmothers more than time spent with grandfathers, and granddaughters were more adept at making connections with grandparents.

Gladstone (1989) studied grandmother-grandchild contact. To explore the mediating influence of adult children and children-in-law on contact between grandmothers and grandchildren, following an adult children´s marriage breakdown and remarriage, 110 grandmothers, aged 44-87 years were interviewed. The majority of adult children appeared to mediate grandmothers' visits with grandchildren. Most grandmothers stated that

- Adult children brought grandchildren to see them,
- Adult children allowed or helped to arrange visits,
- Grandmothers only saw grandchildren when noncustodial adult children had access, and
- Conflict with adult children reduced opportunities to be with grandchildren.

Hurme (1988) examined intergenerational relations in the Finnish family, using interviews with 69 maternal grandmothers , their adult daughters, and their 12-yr-old grandchildren. Content areas examined were geographical distance between the generations, contacts between them, mutual aid and support, filial responsibility, and affective relations. The daughters was found to have loosened her ties with her mother and was less dependent on her than on her husband, and grandmothers did not occupy a central role in the lives of grandchildren. Results did not support the contention that the oldest generation is left alone but do partly support the contention that the grandmother´s role is a "roleless" role: Many grandmothers had difficulty spontaneously defining the main tasks of the grandmothers.

Downs (1988) explored the relationship between self-disclosure and solidarity in an intergenerational relationship. He conducted a study with 60 naturally occurring grandparent-grandchild (aged 12+ yrs) pairs to investigate the relationship between four dimensions of self-disclosure and solidarity within an intergenerational relationship. Results indicate that for both grandparents and grandchildren, depth and honesty in self-disclosure (reflecting intimacy, closeness, and sincerity) were significantly related to perceived solidarity when a target GRP or GRC was identified. However, grandparents and grandchildren differed in their perceptions of the relationship between intent, amount, and interpersonal solidarity.

Eisenberg (1988) investigated the influence of gender across generations. He examined the relation between gender of grandchildren, parents, and grandparents and grandchild-grandparent relationships. Subjects were 60 male and 60 female undergraduate grandchildren who provided information on the 375 grandparents they had known. Subjects reported how close they felt to their grandparents, how much they liked them, and what activities they engaged in with them. Strong effects were found for sex of grandparent and sex of parent. Subjects had closer relationships with grandmothers, particularly maternal grandmothers, and they tended to prefer maternal grandmothers over other grandparents. Maternal grandmothers seemed to make themselves particularly accessible to these subjects. Results suggested that the gender of the grandparent can be more important than proximity in determining the quality of grandchild-grandparent relationships.

Kivett (1985) examined grandfathers´ and grandchildren´s helping, and psychological closeness. 99 grandfathers, aged 65-94 years fulfilled a questionnaire on patterns of association, helping and levels of affect in their relationship. The grandfather role was perceived as subordinate to other social and family roles and that relations between grandfathers and grandchildren were limited in type (on holidays, birthdays) and included low levels of mutual aid in spite of the belief of most of the subjects that grandchildren should be responsible for the health and economic needs of grandfathers and an exaggerated perception on the part of the subjects of closeness to grandchildren. Geographical proximity appears to be the variable most frequently associated with the grandfather-grandchild relationship.

Creasey & Koblewski (1991) studied adolescent grandchildren's relationships with maternal and paternal grandmothers and grandfathers.They examined 71 male and 71 female college students ' perceptions of relationships with maternal and paternal grandmothers and grandfathers using W. Furman and D. Buhrmester ' s (1985) Network of Relationships Inventory. Grandparents, aged 58-95 yrs were not viewed as major targets of intimacy nor were they reported to be the bearers of instrumental aid. However, grandparents, regardless of kinship status, were still rated as important attachment figures to these older adolescents. In general, granddaughters reported better relationships than grandsons.

In the Thomas (1990) structured interviews, 301 grandparents aged 43-86 years discussed their relationship with one of their grandchildren. Measures of mental health (morale, life-satisfaction, and self-esteem) were also administered during interviews. Reactions to the relationship with the grandchild (Satisfaction and Nurturance factor) were among the significant predictors of scores on the mental health measures of morale and life satisfaction. Understanding relations with grandchildren may provide insight into middle-aged and older adults´ general feelings of adjustment. Thomas (1989) reported that female grandparents expressed greater satisfaction with relationships than did males. Males stressed family extension through grandchildren and the pleasures of indulging grandchildren to a greater extent than did females.

In the Ponzetti & Folkrod study (1989) 205 boys and 211 girls in Grades 1-5 described what their grandparents meant to them by writing essays. The essays were then analyzed to determine whether the children's developmental cognitive levels influenced the descriptions of their grandparents. Girls were significantly more likely to mention love than boys. First and second graders reported more affective provisions (e.g., attachment, nurturance) from their grandparents; older subjects, forth- and fifth- graders reported more cognitive provisions (e.g., guidance, pride in family history). Girls reported less social integration and fewer exchanges of material things.

Roscoe & Peterson (1989) Examined generation differences in perceptions of age-appropriate behavior during adulthood in 3 generations of maternally related females: 95 older adolescents (aged 24 yrs or less), 78 mothers, and 83 grandmothers. Subjects were administered a questionnaire to assess age-appropriate behaviors in 3 broad categories: recreation, occupation /career, and family. Findings show that adolescent subjects were most tolerant of behaviours performed by individuals at varying ages while older subjects most closely ascribed to age constraints. The greatest agreement on appropriateness of age constraints concerned family relationships, while least agreement concerned recreational activities. Results suggest that adolescents' values on family issues are consistent with those of their parents and that adherence to age norms increases throughout the life span or are the result of generational differences in socialization.

Scherman et al. (1988) were interested in studying grandparents as a support system for children. 31 children in Grades 3-5 and their grandparents completed an inventory listing 31 activities and asking them how often they actually shared each activity with their grandparent/grandchild and how often they would like to share that activity with their grandparent/grandchild. The actual and desired activities were analyzed on three dimensions: proximity, congruence (the significance of the grandchild and grandparent being the same sex), and sex. The children constituted 2 groups: those whose grandparents lived within 75 miles and those whose grandparents lived farther than 250 miles away. Results indicate the following:

1. Both children and grandparents wanted more interaction than was actually occurring,
2. Grandchildren reported more interaction than grandparents,
3. Geographical proximity was an important factor in the relationships;
4. Congruence between the grandchild's and grandparent's sex was also important during crisis.

SUBJECTS AND METHODS

In this study 79 retired mature age students in the old-age university were asked about their relations with their grandchildren, their human relations in general, their experiences in the past, present and future with open-ended questions. Their level of self-actualization was also tested with Jones & Crandall´s Short Index of Self-Actualization (1986). This test is consisted of 15 items with 6-step scale (from strongly disagree to strongly agree). The range of self-actualization scores varies between 15 and 90. A high score reflects a high self-actualization level. The test represents four factors: autonomy, self-acceptance, acceptance of emotions, and trust in interpersonal relationships. The test has an adequate internal consistency, r = .65, a test-retest reliability, r = .69 as well as a content validity is reported (Jones & Crandall, 1986). McLeod & Vodanovich (1991) studied 154 undergraduate volunteers enrolled a university and/or a junior college and they got the reliability value, alpha = .68). Richard and Jex (1991) found that self-actualization correlated significantly r = -.48 with trait anxiety, r = .34 with optimism, and r = .52 with self-esteem. Flett et al. (1991) found an alpha coefficient . 63.

The age of the group members varied from 54 to 82 years, mean age 66 years. There were 63 women and 16 men. Data are collected from two adult university psychology courses held in Tuusula and in Imatra. Of the participants 62 % were married, 28 % divorced or widowed, and only 10 % were unmarried. Of the participants 61 % lived with the spouse, 34 % lived alone. Only 4 % lived with his/her adult children, and only one person (1%) in a old-age dormitory.

RESULTS

They had three grandchildren on the average; the range of the variable was from 0 to 15. On the average the relations with the grandchildren were considered good (70 %) and even very good (21%), only 9 % named a relationship as moderate.

Table 1 The relations between the grandparent and the grandchild

	Relationship	
	f	%
Very good	12	21
Good	40	70
Moderate	5	9
Poor	-	-
	57	100

However, there was also place for improvement in the grandparent – grandchild relations. 51 % of participants found something to improve in the relationships between grandparents and grandchildren, 42 % considered relationships as good enough. Only 7 % mentioned that the interrelations were weak. Some wanted more openness, more visits (living in another town), more time, more interlearning, more contacts and more unity of opinions.The common answer was "it does always improve matters". Geographical distance forms the main problem - insufficient relations and emotional distance. As Clingempeel et al. (1992) found pubertal status of the grandchild may support the emotional distancing; some grandparents noticed this trend. 20 retired persons had no grandchild, eight of them were unmarried.

Table 2 Is there place for improvement in the grandparent-grandchild relation?

	Relationships	
	f	%
Good	23	42
Place for improvement, perhaps	28	51
Not good	4	7
	55	100

Table 3 The grandchild give to a grandparent

	f	%
Love, tenderness,life satisfaction	19	20
Care, nurturance, shelter	2	2
Recreation, stimulation, joy	25	26
Company,closeness, friendship	13	13
Aid, support,inspiration, guidance	3	3
Appreciation, continuity,pride in family history	9	9
Moral values,life attitude and content	13	13
Hope,support to future	10	10
Much	3	3
	97	99

The grandchildren give to grandparents mainly joy, recreation, love, affection and life satisfaction. Then company, friendship and closeness are important gifts of grandchildren, as well as the whole life content and attitude with moral values. It is very important for human being to see hope; hope for retired people is the bridge to the future. F. ex. grandchildren bring hope for them. Grandchildren may really help the general adjustment of retired people as Thomas (1990) noticed. Grandchildren seem to be as affection senders to their grandparents who have learnt to reject affects in their young adulthood and middle adulthood. The closer the relationships of grandchildren towards grandparents have the better possibilities they have to cope with persons in various age.

According to the grandparent´s word the grandchildren give stimulus to the day and have so much to give in many ways: they give valuable substance to life, good mood, the feeling of necessity, and the feeling of continuity of life; they make life worth while living, give faith, friendship, love, richness of life, company and the feeling of togetherness; they give help, vividness and amazement to life and an opportunity to learn new things from the new generation.

In Table 4, the grandparent gives to a grandchild many things: firstly love, tenderness and life satisfaction, secondly care, nurturance and shelter, thirdly life experiences, attitudes, moral values and moral support. They share also their company, closeness and time for discussions, fairtyles, plays, handworks, hoppy crafts. The grandparents might help, support and guide grandchildren; in this role the parenthood still continue and as a grandparenthood.

Table 4 The grandparent gives to a grandchild

	f	%
Love, affection,life satisfaction	22	19
Care, nurturance, shelter	18	15
Recreation, stimulation,	10	9
Company, friendship,closeness, discussion,time	13	11
Encourage identity,self-esteem,comfort	2	2
Aid, support,trust, understanding, guidance	13	11
Appreciation,knowledge and pride in family history	10	9
Moral values,life attitude, life experience	14	12
Economic support	5	3
Gifts	3	3
All, much	4	3
No knowledge	3	3
	117	101

Of the grandparents 19 % saw that grandchildren have enriched their life very greatly, 79 % stated greatly, and only one was disappointed. 43 % of participants mentioned that they have got help or support from their grandchildren, 29 % have been supported by their grandchildren when it was necessary. Of the participants 1/3 stated they are not so old that they need help. Old people in Finland still think so; it is matter of honour to copy with self-help. 21 % have got no help (because of grandchildren are small), and only 7 % have got no aid .

The majority of the group did not feel lonely (73 %), and there were no differences between men and women. 27 % felt loneliness sometimes. They were happy with their human relations in general; 64 % feel very content, 34 % content, and only two persons did not feel happiness with their relations in general. Women seem to have more friends than men, or they call their acquaintances friends more easily than men do. Men reported fewer friends on the average than women did; the median was 7 reported friends.

The world of experiences as to the past, the present and the future seem very similar for men and women. 52 % of the participants were content with the past, 39 % moderately content, and 9 % had poor experiences of the past. The group members were most satisfied with the present (74 %), and moderately satisfied (25 %), although there were individual differences. Future was something with new things, new challenges, pleasant and good, provided one would preserve one's vitality and health. Some answers reflected the fact that religious attitudes bring light and faith in future in one's life. Over half of the participants felt the future positively with curiosity. Of the retired people 40 % answered with a hard to say-style. Only 6 % saw the future poor. This may reflect fears attached to the future, depression, war, and maybe also the concern about the position of old people in the future society. Quite a few left the question about the future completely unanswered. All in all, the retired people seemed to be very satisfied, optimistic and thus very self-actualized.

Table 5 Past, present and future experiences of retired people

	Past		Present		Future	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Contempt, very good or good	40	52	58	74	41	53
Moderately contempt	30	39	20	25	31	40
					hard to say	
Poor	7	9	1	1	5	6

Of participants 89 % mentioned that they have enough life around them, only 11 % felt their life monotonous.

The self-actualization scores of the group were very high (M = 64.54; Sd = 6.84). From norm scores from Canada (although the norms concerned young adults, M = 44.22; Sd = 7.28 according to Flett et al. 1991) and American adults (Richard & Jex, 1991) these results deviated significantly to the benefit of retired people. Is it so, that only after retiring from work we can fully actualize ourselves?

Table 6 **The Means and Standard Deviations of the Self-actualization Scores**

		Self-Actualization	
	N	M	Sd
Finnish retired people	79	64.5	6.8
Males	16		
Females	63		
Canadian young adults	799	44.2	7.3
Males	227	44.8	7.5
Females	571	44.0	7.2
Americans, aged 17-54 yrs	103	44.3	6.2

DISCUSSION

The relationship between a grandparent and a grandchild is, of course, two-way communication, involving exchange of affective and cognitive provisions and sometimes even material aid. Closeness, mutual respect, and company as well as a sense of empathetic caring were viewed as meaningful factors of a satisfying relationship between a grandparent and a grandchild. Grandparents may view themselves as important attachment figures even for older adolescents. Also, contacts with grandchildren may help grandparents´ general adjustment and provide inspiration, new experiences, and mental support of the retired people.

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STUDENTS OF SPECIAL PEDAGOGY FACULTY - THEIR EMPATHY AND PROSOCIAL ATTITUDES

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INTRODUCTION

Various authors point out that empathy is important in many different situations. Empathy seems to have a significant role in the educational process, therapy, nursing, and other fields. Empathy is a feature of personality involving the capacity to respond emotionally and cognitively other persons without loss of objectivity (Berger, 1987; Williams, 1989). Empathy is linked to helping behaviour and to more effective professional functioning and it is therefore, nearly universally valued in helping professions (Williams, 1989). Empathy is very important for a positive development of people's interactions in many teacher - pupil situations (Grzywak-Kaczynska, 1971), especially when the pupil is exceptional in some way (below or above the intellectual, social or emotional norms) and requires special treatment from teachers, in these cases empathy helps teachers to act in such way which minimises social conflicts and disruption (Kalliopuska 1983; Morgan 1983, 1984; Rembowski 1989).

The renewed emphasis on the psychosocial development of children has led to a greater interest in personality, attitudes, and affective qualities of teachers. Teachers create a climate of warmth, trust, and understanding by keeping open the channels of communication between children and themselves. The effective teacher must be able to perceive needs of children and predict their reactions in a variety of situations. Teachers in general, and especially when working with exceptional children, should be therapists rather than educators. For emotionally disturbed children affective skills of the teachers and their ability to give the feeling of internal comfort are more important than occupational competences (Morman 1979). Empathy is no less important for teachers than for therapists (Grzywak-Kaczynska 1971; Rogers 1980).

In that context we have studied empathy among the students of the Special

Pedagogy Department as well as relations between empathy, prosocial attitudes and individual differences in intelligence and neurotism.

According to the idea of the holistic empathy (Kalliopuska 1992) we put the question whether the components of empathy are completely specific for this phenomenon or common with other psychological phenomena as prosocial attitudes, neurotism and intelligence.

Prosocial attitude is a disposition which embraces cognitive, emotional and behavioural components. The question arises whether these components of prosocial attitudes have some common mechanisms with the empathy process or whether they are phenomena completely different and independent from one to another. The same question could be asked about the neurotism level (with its anxiety component) and its relation to the empathy process; whether empathy and neurotism have some common mechanism or not. As cognitive components of empathy are emphasised we can put also a question about common elements of the mechanism of intellectual abilities and of the process of empathy. In the answer to our questions put above we have studied the empathy among students of the Special Pedagogy Department alongside the relations between empathy, prosocial attitudes and individual differences in intelligence and neurotism.

METHOD

Subjects

The group of 121 students of the Special Pedagogy Department aged 18 to 20 years were tested.

Procedure and questionnaires

The level of empathy was measured with "The Questionnaire Measure of Emotional Empathy" constructed by Mehrabian and Epstein (1972).

Prosocial attitudes were measured with Attitudes Questionnaire By Klis, Kossewska (1992). The questionnaire was composed of 30 items divided into three main parts: a) general attitudes of subjects towards disabled people, b) attitudes of on ideal teacher towards disabled children, and c) attitudes of subjects towards mainstreaming in education and social life. The Scale for answering was very wide (0=completely disagree to 7=completely agree). Individual differences in non-verbal intelligence were tested with the Raven Advanced Progressive Matrices. Individual Differences in neurotism were measured with Inventory of Neurotic Symptoms constructed by Bizon.

RESULTS

Prosocial attitudes of the students were correlated with the level of empathy and it's factors. More empathetic students felt more sympathy for disabled people than the students with low level of empathy and they thought that ideal teacher of these children should be more able to identify with other people's feelings: Emotional receptiveness (Factor II) was positively correlated with sympathy for disabled children and willingness to help them but negatively to help them but negatively with aversion and disgust. Readiness to identify with others (Factor III) was also positively correlated with willingness to help. Both factors: emotional receptiveness (Factor II) and readiness to identify with others (Factor III) were connected with the opinion that the ideal teacher should show understanding of other person's needs.

As it could be seen in Table 1, there were some correlations between individual differences in intelligence and neurotism and our variables of empathy and attitudes towards disabled people.

1. Non-verbal intelligence measured with Raven Advanced Progressive Matrices was positively related to Factor I of empathy - rejection of feelings and hardened feelings and thinking that the ideal teacher of disables children should not be lenient, but negatively to Factor III - readiness to identify with others. More intelligent students rejected feelings of other people but simultaneously, were not ready to identify with others.

2. Level of neurotism measured with the Inventory of Neurotic Symptoms constructed by Bizon was negatively connected with Factor IV of empathy, eg,. emotional control and positively with a belief that the ideal teacher of disabled children should be able to identify with others' feelings.

Table 1. Correlations between procosial attitudes, empathy, intelligence and neurotism

Cor:	INT	NEU	P1	P2	P4	P6	P13	P14	P17	P18
INT	1.0000	.1105	-.2259*	-.0291	.0401	-.0048	-.1529	-.1827	.1729	.0069
NEU	.1105	1.0000	.1582	-.0420	.0174	.2470*	-.0186	.0424	-.0218	-.0771
EMP	.0302	.0783	.2099	.0784	.2858**	.1227	.2800**	.1633	-.1526	-.1318
FAC1	.2590*	.1700	.0041	.0085	.1505	.1449	.0169	-.0355	-.0449	-.0055
FAC2	-.0200	-.0060	.3410**	.0840	.2391*	.0066	.3278**	.2129*	-.2462*	-.3557**
FAC3	-.3045**	-.0361	.3411**	.2521*	.3710**	.2351*	.1896	.3401*	-.0242	.0482
FAC4	-.0768	-.2657*	.0012	.0329	-.0359	-.0687	.0199	.0833	-.0843	-.0906

INT - intelligence
NEU - neurotism
p1 - lenient
p2 - patient
p4 - understanding of others' needs
EMP - empathy
FAC2 - EMOTIONAL RECEPTIVENES
FAC4 - EMOTIONAL CONTROL
signif.: * - .01 ** - .001

p13 - sympathy
p14 - willingness to help
p17 - aversion
p18 - disgust
p6 - able to identify with others' feelings
FAC1 - REJECTION OF FEELINGS AND HARDENED FEELINGS
FAC3 - READINESS TO IDENTIFY ONESELF WITH OTHERS

The results of the Attitudes Questionnaire show there are three areas of prosocial attitudes: a) Attitudes of our subjects towards disabled children, b) attitudes of an ideal teacher towards disabled children, c) attitudes of our subjects towards mainstreaming in education and social life.

a) In general, our group of students presented positive prosocial attitudes towards disabled people. They pointed out they need the contact with disabled person and they feel sympathy, they are willing to help and to understand people's situation (Table 2).

Table 2 Attitudes of students towards disabled people

Feeling	Percent of the highest scores	Median
P14 - willingness to help	87	7
P20 - willingness to understand others' situation	73	6
P21 - need of contact with disable people	71	6
P13 - sympathy	43	5
P16 - mercy	8	1
P15 - anxiety	4	1
P19 - curiosity	6	1
P17 - aversion	0	0
P18 - disgust	0	0

b) Testing attitudes of an ideal teacher towards disabled children we obtained our students' ideas of teachers' characteristics (Table 3). Imagination of the ideal teachers of disabled children is projection of students' feelings and attitudes towards them.

In opinion of our subjects the main features of the ideal teacher of disabled children were: patience, willingness to help and an ability to control himself and other personality features, especially affective and prosocial skills. In their opinion good professional competences were not so important in working with disabled children as other features of personality.

Table 3 Attitudes of ideal teacher towards disabled children

Feature	Percent of the highest scores	Median
P2 - patient	98	7
P9 - willing to help	90	7
P12 - able to control himself	90	7
P3 - cordial	88	7
P4 - understanding of others' needs	88	7
P1 - lenient	82	7
P11 - immune against stress	79	7
P5 - optimistic	76	6
P7 - tolerant	76	7
P6 - able to identify with others' feelings	74	6
P8 - professional in his work	66	6
P10 - keeping emotional distance to others	35	5

c) Students' general attitudes towards mainstreaming in education and social life were positive but no so emphatic as attitudes towards disabled children (Table 4). Most of the students agreed that disabled children should learn with healthy children, and that disabled people should work with healthy people and should function actively within society.

Table 4 Attitudes of students towards mainstreaming

Integration	Percent of the highest scores	Median
learn with healthy children	73	7
work with healthy people	62	6
actively participate in society	48	5
have special privileges	39	4

As a result of One-way analysis of variance and tests for homogeneity of variances we have found pairs of groups significantly different at the .050 level in students' attitudes towards integration of disabled people with healthy people at work (F=6.58, p= .002, Cochrans C=.49, p= .23). Students with a long or medium period of contact with disabled children (taking care on them during holidays, practising at kindergarten, having disabled child in the family), had significantly more positive attitudes towards integration of disabled people with healthy people at work, than students with no contacts with disabled children.

The Anova analysis of variance was used to find interactions independent variables in their influence on prosocial attitudes. Two statistical interactions were found between the length of the period of contact and the level of emotional empathy which influenced the students' attitudes. Students' opinion that the ideal teacher of disabled children should have high emotional distance (F=3.19, p=.05, df=2) and students' curiosity towards disabled people (F=3.14, p=.05, df=2) depended on the length of the period of contact with disabled children in connection with the level of empathy.

In students' opinion, if the level of their empathy was high and the period of contact with disabled children was long, the ideal teacher of disabled should have lower emotional distance to disabled children. However, when the level of empathy was low and the contact is long in students' opinion the ideal teacher should have high emotional distance.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of our research allow us to say, that a multifaceted process of empathy is related to various elements of personality. Above all the results show the relations between empathy, prosocial attitudes and a level of neurotism and general intelligence as represented by the students of Special Pedagogy Faculty.

These results indicate that the empathy is a very complicated, holistic process. In addition they show the existence of certain, at least partly related, mechanisms between empathy and other elements of personality.

On the basis of our results we can say that the development of empathetic abilities, especially useful in the work of teachers of disabled children can be obtained by influencing prosocial attitudes of teachers of disabled children, as well as reducing their level of neurotism.

Our study brought us to the following, particular conclusions:

1. We have found significant differences in the students' prosocial attitudes

connected with the length of the period of their contact with disabled children and the level of their's empathy.

2. It was turned out that the level of emotional empathy in interaction with the length of the period of contact with disabled children influenced the level of curiosity towards disabled people and the opinion that the ideal teacher should keep emotional distance to disabled children.

3. According to the results of many studies and our own results, empathy has significant influence on prosocial attitudes. It is very important for students' education and their future work to develop their empathy. The empathetic tendency in relation to other people seems to be a good predictor for the future occupation as a teacher of disabled children. This problem is being tested in our longitudinal study but we have to wait for a long time for the results.

4. Education for empathy and prosociability should be emphasised more in educational work with students. During the training in psychology we should utilise music and art as techniques developing imagination and emotional experiences (Kalliopuska & Ruokonen 1986). It will help our students to learn how to perceive sensitively the emotions of their own and those of other people.

5. Judging by our results we have found that counselling would be very useful for our students to help them choose the best future occupation in agreement with their abilities.

6. Students of the Special Pedagogy Department showed high prosocial attitudes towards disabled people. Our farther study based on projective methods and experiments will allow us to decide whether these attitudes are only declarative or connected with prosocial behaviours.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LANGUAGE COMMUNICATION SKILLS AND OF THE IMPACTS THEY HAVE ON SOCIALIZATION IN CHILDREN REARED IN FAMILIES VERSUS AS OPPOSED TO STATE CARE

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The aim of the present study is to identify those aspects of language communication and socio-cognitive relationships which are greatly affected by communicative experiences gained in the intimate relationships between parent and child. At the same time, the author also aims to point out certain characteristics of communication resulting from the absence of such intimate situations, and of the absence of the experiences these situations offer. This lack results in a different course of socio-emotional development within the socialization process.

SUBJECTS

Altogether four groups of children took part in the study:

1 .Children living in two-parent, underpriviliged families, as identified by the unskilled work of the parents. n= 73; average age: 5;6).

2. Children brought up in three types of institution:

a) children attending "weekly" kindergartens, that is, children who lived in boarding conditions during the week and went home to their families for weekends (n=35; average age 5;7);

b) children living in state foster homes with places for kindergarten-age children only (n=45; average age 5;9); and

c) children living in state foster homes designed for children between the ages of three and eighteen (n= 47; average age 5;7).

METHODS

A questionnaire recording the anamnesis of psychophysiological and psychosocial development elaborated by the author in an earlier study Sugarne Kadar, J., 1985) was employed together with seven different types of problem situations that aimed to measure the level of verbal communication skills. In addition, the de-Rienzi Token Language Comprehension Test, the Wechsler Intelligence Test for Children HWIK) were used, and sociometric examinations were also carried out.

In the group allocated in the state foster home rearing children from ages three to eighteen, a facilitation Programme for language communication kills worked out earlier by the author Sugarne Kadar, J.: 1984; 1985; 1986; 1989) was implemented, and its efficiency study was accomplished.

RESULTS

1. The time of separation from the family, a Psychosocial change in a given developmental phase, bore an impact on the subsequent course of language development. In the second half of the first year, -which is the critical period» for interpersonal sensitivity, dependency, and the emergence of separation anxiety, -separation from the family resulted in an increased striving for communication, as found in children referred to state care between the ages of six months and twelve months. Their contextual speech at kindergarten age was the most redundant of the groups examined, but their dialogues showed strong dynamism. Children referred to state care at around three Years of age, however, performed the most poorly in the speech tasks. In our view, this finding can be explained b the fact that these children had to cope with socio-cognitive tasks stemming from situations arising in state care conditions which were utterly different from those in the family, after a prolonged period of deprivation in the family and then the trauma of full separation, see Figure 1.

2. In the groups studied, the level of language communication skills showed a close relationship with the depth and variability of interpersonal relationships

available for the children. The standard of spoken language in children living in

state care, as compared to those living in families, was poorer. However, their spoken language was more developed in several respects when compared to the spoken language of those still maintaining loose ties with their families and with the outside world--for example, the weekly kindergarten children. The lowest standard of speech was found in children living in state homes limited to one kindergarten) are group. The relatively high standard of speech, especially in dialogues, found in children living in wide age-range state homes, stemmed from the fact - among other things -that, from among the institutions studied, this type offered the greatest variety for establishing interpersonal relationships, see Figure 2 and 3.

3. The active speech of children living in state care was more redundant, less "elaborated", than that of those living in families. Their contextual speech was poorer, although their dialogue skills were in some respects more advanced, see Figure 4. While the language skills of children living in state care showed strong association with certain socio-cognitive characteristics, in children living in families this association was not found to be strong; rather, these children gave more idiosynchratic solutions. The reason for this lies in the fact that children in families solve language tasks such as comprehending and following verbal instructions, or tasks requiring various types of contextual speech such as picture description, story reproduction and continuation as a matter of routine.

4. The findings of the study supported the role of language communication in establishing and maintaining close, intimate relationships, at the age of five (Merei, 1988) in the group of children living in families. Communication in the case of children living in state care had a more apparent role in the wider social field; a high standard of communication secured them popularity or an important role within their groups. Yet they did not establish intimate situations of communication that come to be formed in pair relationships, and which are modelled on the earlier close parent-child relationships. In children brought up in state care, gender differences concerning verbal-cognitive and communication-dependent socialization were more marked than in their peers growing up in families. The

language communication of boys was primarily characterized by verbal-cognitive factors such as language comprehension or conciseness, and their communication took place in peer groups. The communication of girls, on the other hand, was characterized by socio-emotive factors, and by the important or popular role they played in the wider group, see Figure 1 - 4.

5. On the basis of the general findings of the study - according to which children living in state care communicate with their peers on a lower verbal-cognitive level, yet communicate with greater ease than do children in families -, the author puts forward proposals aiming to improve the verbal-cognitive aspects of communication. By relying on the good communicative skills of the children, the programme also tries to offset the consequences of the lack of intimate peer relationships to some extent. Then, proposals concerning a language and communication facilitation programme and a kindergarten educational programme based on communication are outlined.

Figure 1

Development differences in speech on the basis of the separation period from the family (ANOVA)

	6-12 months (n= 9)	1-3 years (n= 11)	3-6 years (n= 27)
Perception of speech		< F= 6.051* >	
Redundancy of dialogical speech		> F= 7.094** >	
Elaboration of speech Normative part of sentence			
nomination		F = 5.945*	
attribute		> F = 4.884** >	
genitive case		> F = 2.785* >	
Predicative part of sentence prediction (verb)		> F = 6.827** >	
object of action		> F = 7.510*** >	
adverb		> F = 7.309*** >	
Number of dialogical sentences		> F = 6.671*** >	
Correlation between the sociometrical position and the dialogic skill		reciprocal peer relation F = 2.887* important role in peer group F = 5.880***	

p < .1 (*)
.05*
.01**
.001***

Figure 2

Level of speech perception
(Token-test) t-test

	Family-home	Weekly-home	State-home
Perception and following of instruction		3.44**	
Correlation between the perception of instruction and perception of text	n.s.	n.s.	.4754***
Correlation between the perception of instruction and the sociometrical position	n.s.	n.s.	

.5305***
reciprocal peer relation peer relation

.3685***
popularity in peer group popularity

.2702
important role in peer group important role in peer group

p < .1(*)
.05*
.01**
.001***

Figure 3

The level of redundancy of speech
(type/token proportion) (t-test)

	Family-home		Weekly-home		State-home
Contextual speech (picture description story reproduction story continuation)		> -13.23***		> -18.12***	
Dialogue		> -21.95***		> -21.63***	
Correlation between the speech redundancy in story reproduction and the sociometrical position	.5965**		.4382**		.2216(*)
	reciprocal peer relation				important role in peer group

p < .1(*)
.05*
.01**
.001***

Figure 4

Differences in the level of speech 'elaboration' (The intelbigibility -, correctness-, expressiveness of speech) (t-test)

	Family-home	Weekly-home	State-home
Well structured sentence		2.78**	
Nominative part of sentence			
nomination		2.44**	
attribute		4.81***	
genitive case		1.58**	
Predicative part of sentence			
prediction (verb)		3.21**	
adverb (condition of action)		3.80***	
Correlation between the speech elaboration in dialogue and the sociometrical position	n.s.	n.s.	.3432** peer relation .2565* popularity in peer group .4198** important role

p < .1(*)
.05*
.01**
.001***

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MOTHERS' BELIEFS ABOUT THEIR LEARNING DISABLED SONS AND MOTHER-CHILD INTERACTION

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The purpose of the present study was to examine mothers' evaluations and expectations for their child and the relationship between mothers' evaluations and mother-child interaction. Groups of learning disabled (LD = 30) and normally achieving boys (NLD = 30) were videotaped interacting with their mothers in a teaching task. The children were matched for age (8 to 11 year olds) and for parents' SES. In an interview mothers of LD children described their children as having fewer strengths and more weaknesses than did mothers describing their NLD children. The results indicated that those mothers of LD children who found fewer strengths in their child were dominant in interaction. Those mothers of LD children who had a higher number of expectancies for their children described their child as having more strengths and they were rated as expressing more emotionality toward their child during teaching. Their children were also more successful in learning performance.

Parental thinking in literature is referred to as parents' ideas, or beliefs, or their naive or implicit theories. Goodnow and Collins (1990) considered beliefs a subset of the broader category of parental cognition. Beliefs have been explored as a form of adult social cognition and for their possible effects on parental behavior and hence the child's development.

Research into parents' beliefs has been focused on the content and nature of parents' ideas and on possible relations between parents' ideas and parents' behaviors. Relations have been reported to be positive, albeit modest (Miller, 1988). Empirical findings have been widely documented in situations where parents try to teach something to their children (McGillicuddy-deLisi, 1982, 1985), and in the ways that the parents try to control the behavior of the children (Kochanska, 1990).

Miller et al. (1991) explored parents' predictions of their child's cognitive abilities and the relations between the accuracy of the parent's judgments and the level of the child's development.

The accuracy of the mothers' predictions correlated positively with the child's performance, i.e. more accurate parents tended to have more competent children (Miller et al., 1991; Miller & Davis, 1992). These findings give support to the so-called match hypothesis (Hunt & Paraskevopoulos, 1980): The greater the mother's knowledge of her child, the better the match between her teaching efforts and the child's developmental level, and hence the better the child's development. These findings could be explained as well within a conceptual framework of cognitive development. Still we know little about exactly how parental beliefs translate into the behaviors that presumably mediate child outcomes (e.g., Kochanska, 1990).

Only a few studies have addressed the relationship among parent expectations, parent-child interactions, and performance in LD children. Regarding achievement in academic tasks, the youngster's history of performance may be an important antecedent of these parental cognitions. In the study by Bryan and others (1982) mothers were interviewed to determine their perceptions of their child's strengths and weaknesses. In comparison with mothers of nondisabled children, mothers of LD children described their children more negatively.

Parents of LD children have also been found to have lower expectations and different achievement attributions (Boersma & Chapman, 1982; Tollison et al. 1987) than parents of children who are doing well academically. Tollison et al. reported that mothers of LD children held lower expectations for their children's performance and also were more likely than mothers of normally achieving children to attribute their sons' failure to lack of ability.

Consistently for example, Tollison et al. (1987) reported that mothers of LD children perceived and interacted with their sons in a more negative manner than did mothers of nondisabled children.

The purpose of the present study was to examine mothers' evaluations and expectations for their LD and NLD sons, mother-child interaction, and the relationship between mothers' evaluations and expectations and interactional behaviors.

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects were 30 boys with learning disabilites (LD) and 30 boys without any reported learning problems (NLD) and their mothers. The boys were 8 to 11 years of age, and they were matched for age (M of LD group = 9.7 years, SD = 11.74 months; M of NLD group = 9.4 years, SD = 7.23 months).The control group consisted of boys who according to their teachers' report did not manifest learning problems and had not received remedial teaching. Children in both groups were individually administered the Raven Progressive Matrices (Raven, 1956) (M of LD group = 25.83, SD = 4.09; M of NLD group = 31.60, SD = 3.08) and a shortened 30-item version of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary test, PPVT (Dunn & Dunn, 1981) (M of LD group = 21.93, SD = 3.87; M of NLD group = 24.90, SD = 2.55). The groups were matched for fathers' and mothers' socio-economic status.

Children in the LD group had received remedial teaching in addition to regular class instruction before their referral to a clinic specializing in the neuropsychological assessment of learning disabilities (Niilo Mäki Institute, Jyväskylä). The goal of the assessment was to provide guidelines for more carefully focused remediation efforts. The very thorough neuropsychological assessment consisted of sensory-perceptual, motor, language, memory, and problem-solving tests (Närhi & Ahonen,1992). Our definition of learning disability follows that presented by the National Joint Committee on Learning Disabilities (Hammill et al.1981). Only those children were included in the LD group who had normal IQ (WISC-R total IQ above 80) and whose learning problems met the diagnostic criteria.

Most of the children (N = 27) manifested language-based learning disabilities. Their difficulties in reading, spelling, or language were identified by teachers and confirmed by achievement testing using local norms for reading (videotaped reading of words, non-words, and text passages at least 1.5 standard deviations below the age norms) and spelling. Language difficulties were confirmed by using neuropsyhological tests like Token (DeRenzi & Faglioni, 1978), PPVT (Dunn & Dunn, 1981), Boston Naming (Kaplan et al. 1983) and Rapid Naming Tests (Denckla & Rudel, 1974; Wolf, 1986). A smaller number of children (n = 3) manifested primarily nonverbal learning disabilities, that is, major difficulties in arithmetic or writing. Children who were diagnosed to have primary emotional problems, or had neurological diseases or sensory impairment that may be causing the learning problems were excluded from the LD group.

Procedure

In an interview mothers were asked to describe their child's strengths and weaknesses of character and action. Mothers also made predictions concerning their child's performance on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test. They were also asked which different tasks in everyday life they would expect their child could manage.

Interaction of mother-child dyads was videotaped in a laboratory setting while they worked on four structured interactive tasks. The main focus of this article concerns the teaching task. It was designed to contain features resembling those of a homework assignment. In the task the mother and her son sat at a table next to ach other. The mother was asked to teach her son a set of five pseudowords and the meanings that were attached to them.The mother was requested to take a teacher's role, and she was encouraged to do her best in assisting her son in memorizing the new words. The experimenter reminded the pair of the similarity of the situation to the learning of new words in a foreign language as homework. They were told that they had 10 minutes to practice the new words. The material available consisted of five text cards (the pseudoword and the object name that it corresponded to in Finnish), picture cards depicting the same objects, and paper and pens. The recordings took place in the video facility of the Department of Psychology, and standard video equipment (S-VHS) was used.

Measures

Evaluation and Expectancy Measures. In an interview mothers were asked to imagine a hypothetical situation that her son would receive a new teacher. Mothers were asked how they would describe their child to a new teacher. Based on this initial description evaluations were coded negative, neutral or positive. Mothers were also asked to describe their children's strengths and weaknesses. The number of strengths of character (e.g., artistic, conscientious, studious) and the number of strengths of action (e.g., good at skiing, good at drawing, good at doing arithmetic problems) were summed up, as well as the number of weaknesses of character (e.g., lack of concentration) and the number of weaknesses of action (e.g., clumsy in sport games).

A short, 13-item questionnaire which asked for a list of different everyday tasks (e.g., child takes care of his school affairs, child regularly does some housework) was used to find out mothers' expectations. The number of expectancies indicate how many tasks mothers thought their child could manage.

Mothers were also shown the 12 items of the PPVT sequentially and asked whether they think that their child could know each of them. The number of underestimation tells how many more items the child knew than their mother predicted and the number of overestimation tells how many fewer items the child knew than expected.

Interaction variables. Quality of mother-child interaction was rated on a Likert-type (5 point) scale. The following variables were used to characterize the behaviors of both mothers and children: Motivation in the task indicated how involved both partners were in the task. Motivation was coded separately for mother and child. Emotionality referred to the affectional tone of the interchange. The atmosphere could vary from negative, nonchalant feelings, to positive, warm feelings expressed toward the partner. This variable was coded separately for mother and child. Cooperation indicated each partner's participation in the mutual activity. This variable was coded separately for mother and child. Extent of cooperation varied from acting alone to highest mutual involvement in which the initiative of the other partner were taken into consideration, and the subject appeared to strive for a mutual solution of the task. Dominance referred to the mothers tendency to control the situation (e.g., objecting to the child's initiatives, presenting demands) and guide it toward the direction of her own wishes. This variable was only coded for mothers. Initiative was only coded for the child and it varied from no initiatives by the child or his complete dependence on the mother's suggestions, to the child having lots of ideas and proposals for the solution of the task.

Interobserver reliability was assessed on 25% of the data by having two assistants independently code the same randomly selected cases. Correlations for mother interaction ratings were 0.79 and for those of the children 0.75.

RESULTS

Differences between the LD and NLD groups were tested by using a one-way ANOVA and correlational procedures were used to examine the relationship between mothers' evaluations and expectations and interaction behaviors.

Mothers' evaluations and expectations

Mothers' descriptions for their children varied as a function of group status. Table 1 shows that mothers' initial description of the child was more negative in the LD group than in the NLD group ((1,57) - 14.37, < .001). Child's strengths of character were more frequently mentioned by mothers of NLD group (F(1,57 = 3.97, P < .05). Results showed that mothers of LD children found fewer strengths and more weaknesses in their child than did mothers of NLD children (F(1,57) = 5.66, P < .05 for the percentage of the child's strengths).

The data reported in Table 1 shows that mothers made more underestimations than overestimations. Underestimation did not differentiate groups of mothers from each other. Actually, mothers of LD children overestimated their child's performance more often than did mothers of NLD children (F(1,57) = 7.32, P < .01). No differences were found in expectations concerning the child's management in everyday tasks. Mothers' education or socioeconomic status were not associated with their

TABLE 1

MOTHERS' EVALUATION AND EXPECTATIONS FOR THEIR LD AND NLD SONS

Dependent variable	LD		NLD		
	M	SD	M	SD	F
Initial description of child	0.52	0.87	1.37	0,85	14.37***
Strengths of child's character	1.62	1.29	2.33	1.45	3.97*
Strengths of child's action	1.79	1.37	2.17	1.39	1.08
Weaknesses of child's character	1.14	0.88	1.53	1.20	2.09
Weaknesses of child's action	3.17	1.77	2.37	1.43	3.71
Percentage of child's strengths	42.55	20.97	54.10	16.06	5.66*
Percentage of child's weaknesses	57.59	21.05	45.90	16.06	5.77*
Underestimation of performance on PPVT	2.57	1.57	3.27	1.87	2.32
Overestimation of performance on PPVT	1.18	0.90	0.57	0.82	7.32**
Expectations	9.83	2.15	10.40	2.22	1.01

Note. *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

evaluations or expectations for the child.

Interaction variables

There was a significant difference in dominance, emotionality, and cooperation between the mothers of LD and NLD groups. Mothers of NLD group expressed more emotionality toward the child ($F(1,58) = 10.60$, $p < .01$) and they were more cooperative ($F(1,58) = 5.91$, $.05$) than mothers of LD children. Table 2 shows that mothers of LD children exercised more dominance while teaching their child than mothers of NLD children ($F(1,58) = 3.96$, $P < .05$). Only maternal motivation in the task did not differentiate the groups.

Results indicate that LD children differed from NLD children in every interaction variable. LD children expressed less motivation than NLD children ($F(1,58) = 11.88$, $< .001$). They were also rated less cooperative ($F(1,58) = 32.00$, $< .001$) and as expressing less emotionality toward their mother ($F(1,58) = 20.30$, $< .001$) than NLD children. Despite noncooperative behavior children with LD were found to be inactive. Based on the means LD children made fewer initiatives ($F(1,58) = 6.89$, $P < .01$) during the teaching task than did NLD children. Table 2 shows that groups differed in child's learning performance, too ($F(1,58) = 37.79$, $< .001$). Based on the means children with LD learned fewer words than NLD children.

TABLE 2
DIFFERENCES IN THE RATED QUALITY OF MOTHER-CHILD INTERACTION

Interaction variables	LD group		NLD group		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	F
Mother					
Motivation in the task	3.47	1.22	3.67	1.03	0.47
Dominance	3.03	1.03	2.40	1.04	3.96*
Emotionality	3.57	0.77	4.17	0.65	10.60**
Cooperation	4.10	0.76	4.57	0.73	5.91*
Child					
Motivation in the task	2.77	1.19	3.80	1.13	11.88***
Initiative	2.67	0.88	3.30	1.02	6.89**
Emotionality	3.37	0.72	4.20	0.71	20.30***
Cooperation	3.46	0.82	4.53	0.63	32.00***
Learning performance on the task	2.53	1.17	4.13	0.82	37.79***

Note. *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001; df = 1,58

Relations between mothers' evaluations and expectations and mother-child interaction

Correlations in the LD group indicated that mother's dominance was negatively related to the number of child's strengths of character (p < .05), see Table 3. Those mothers of LD children who were rated dominant did not find as many strengths of the child as those mothers who were not dominant. The percentage of strengths which the mother ascribed to her son correlated significantly with the child's learning performance, too (p < .05).

Mothers' expectations concerning the everyday tasks which the LD children could manage correlated significantly with emotionality (p < .05) in the teaching task. In addition, a significant correlation was found between mothers' expectations and learning performance of the child (p < .001). The higher the number of tasks the mother thought the child could manage the more successful the child was in learning the words. Correspondent correlations with emotionality and with child's learning performance were not found in the NLD group. Mothers' expectations correlated positively with the description of strengths of the child's character (r = .39, p< .05) in the LD group and with the percentage of child's strengths (r = .44, p < .05) in the NLD group. Percentage of the strengths of child's character correlated negatively with underestimation of the child's test performance in the NLD group (r = -.37, p < .05). Neither underestimation nor overestimation correlated with interaction variables.

In the NLD group the only significant correlation between mothers' evaluations and expectations and interaction variables was related to their motivation in the task. Correlation indicated that those mothers who described more strengths of child's character were more motivated during the teaching than mothers who indicated a low number of child's strengths (p< . 01) .

TABLE 3

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MOTHERS' EVALUATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS AND MOTHER-CHILD INTERACTION VARIABLES

	Group	Initial description of child	Strengths of child's character	Percentage of child's strengths	Expectations
Motivation in the task	LD	-.03	.13	.08	.16
	NLD	.50**	.45**	.32	.23
Dominance	LD	-.28	-.43*	-.39	-.20
	NLD	-.14	-.30	-.12	.00
Emotionality	LD	.15	.34	.29	.41*
	NLD	.07	.01	.11	-.02
Cooperation	LD	.02	.18	.11	.22
	NLD	.27	.34	.24	-.10
Learning performance of child	LD	.09	.31	.36*	.56***
	NLD	-.17	-.24	-.05	-.13

Note. *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

DISCUSSION

Consistent with the findings of related investigations (Bryan, Pearl, Zimmerman & Matthews, 1982; Tollison et al., 1987) mothers of LD children described their children as having fewer strengths than did mothers describing their NLD children, and more weaknesses. There were no differences in expectations related to certain age-related tasks between the groups of mothers.

Studies by Miller et al. (1991) and Miller and Davis (1992) indicated that overestimation was more common than underestimation. The findings of the present study, on the contrary, indicated that mothers made more underestimations than overestimations.

Findings of the present study indicated that the teaching task might be emotionally difficult for mother and son in the LD group. The task may have elicited their earlier disappointing experiences with learning conditions. Mother and son expressed less emotionality and less cooperation in the LD group. LD children also seemed to be rather inactive and their mothers tended to be more dominating than mothers of NLD children. Due to the reciprocal nature of parent-child relationships, it may be that children's lower level of motivation and initiative is one reason for their mother's behavior in the L group (Lyytinen, Rasku-Puttonen, Poikkeus, Laakso & Ahonen, in press; McGillicuddy-DeLisi, 1992).

Based on correlations, those mothers in the LD group who were very dominant found fewer strengths in their child. Based on the means children with LD learned fewer words than NLD children. Some mothers of LD children were, however, very positive in their evaluations of the child. The percentage of strengths which the mother ascribed to her son correlated significantly with the child´s learning performance. Those mothers who had a higher number of expectations for their children described their child as having more strengths and they were also rated as expressing more emotionality toward the child during teaching. Furthermore, their children were more successful in learning the words. These findings were in line with the results reported by Diaz, Neal & Vachio (1991), Grolnick & Ryan (198) and Hess & Holloway (1984). They have proposed that these findings propose that optimal teaching interaction includes both cognitive and motivational-affective components. Through the use of praise and encouragement, the adult creates a positive atmosphere in which the child's sense of competence is enhanced and he is more likely to take an increasing share of task responsibility.

Having considered mothers' evaluations of their children with LD, it may be that mothers' negative perceptions are reflecting current achievement levels by their children and disappointments due to learning difficulties (Tollison et al., 1987). However, all the LD children had IQs within the normal range. Mothers seem to form the evaluations of their child on the basis of prior achievement. Previous failures tend to have an effect on future expectations for performance. It has often been reported that affective experiences generalize and begin to play an important role as filters and modifiers of future actions and perceptions (Kochanska, 1990). It is very likely that the child will confirm in his performance such beliefs and expectations as the parents and teachers have. In line with this, it is very important to notice that the findings suggests that a parent who has positive expectations for her child can create a positive and encouraging learning atmosphere which helps the child to do his best and which in the course of time fosters the child's sense of competence. Based on our earlier (Rasku-Puttonen, Lyytinen, Poikkeus, Laakso, & Ahonen, in press) and present findings it would be advisable to emphasize to the parents and teachers of LD children their crucial role in helping LD children to overcome their learning difficulties.

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ROOTS OF MOTHER-INFANT RELATIONSHIP: MOTHERS' ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOUR TOWARDS THEIR LOW-BIRTHWEIGHT NEWBORN BABIES

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The stress experienced by the parents when a baby is born prematurely has been extensively documented in the contemporary literature of developmental psychology (Blackburn & Lowen, 1985; Brazelton, 1982; Harmon & Culp, 1981; Kalmar, Boronkai, & Harkanyi, 1992; Macey, Harmon & Easterbrooks, 1987; Pederson, Bento, Chance, Evans, & Fox, 1986; Silcock, 1987; Trause & Kramer, 1983) as it has been found to be a source of altered child rearing attitudes and behaviours. Added to the stress caused by the event of untimely delivery itself, the extended separation from the baby and the outlook of special caregiving tasks contribute to a differential preparation for parental roles. Further, the appearance and behaviour of the preterm infant violate the parents' expectations about a healthy newborn.

These distinct behavioural characteristics have important implications for social interactions. These babies are less alert, less active and show less optimal orientation for environmental stimuli (Als & Brazelton, 1981; Brown & Bakeman, 1980; Field, 197; Goldberg, Brachfeld, & DiVitto, 1980; Minde, Whitelaw, Brown, & Fitzhardinge, 1983). At the same time they are more irritable (Elmer & Gregg, 1967), fussier and harder to soothe (Greene, Fox, & Lewis, 1983), and their cry is more arousing to parents (Frodi, Lamb, & Leavitt, 1978). They are more difficult to feed and altogether to care for. One of the critical factors underlying the success or failure of mother-infant interaction is the conceivability of the infant's signals. Preterms frequently shift their states, are unable to control erratic body movements, thus their behaviours are difficult to understand by the caretakers (McGehee & Eckerman, 1983).

Premature dyads enjoy the interaction periods less, they display less positive emotional reaction to each other (Crnic, Greenberg, Ragozin, Robinson, & Basham, 1983.

Prevalent among maternal reactions to the infant's prematurity are the efforts for compensation. These mothers tend to be more active, more responsive, and to stimulate their infants more (Als & Brazelton, 1981; Brown & Bakeman, 1980; Crnic et al., 1983; Field, 1979; Minde, 1990; Stevenson, Roach, & Leavitt, 1991). Besides compensation other, rather unfavorable types of maternal behaviours were also observed, like exaggerated protection (Macey, Harmon, & Easterbrooks, 1987; O'Mara & Johnston, 1989), or inactivity, neglect, more frequent punishment, and even child abuse (Barrera, Rosenbaum, & Cunningham, 1987; Elmer & Gregg, 1967; Minde, 1984; Minde et al., 1983; Siegel, 1984).

Mothers' differential behavioural styles have been found to be related to the severity of the infants' risk status (Field, Walden, Widmayer, & Greenberg, 1982; Goldberg, Perotta, Minde, & Corter, 1986; Meisels & Plunkett, 1988, Minde et al., 1983).

The aim of the present study (first phase of a follow-up project) was to obtain information on interactive situations involving mothers and their preterm infants when the dyads had previously spent little time together. We wanted to find out how much stress mothers experience in association with a preterm delivery, which are the contributing factors to this stress, and whether these or the baby's bio-medical or behavioural characteristics affect the mothers' interactional attempts, taking into consideration the Hungarian hospital circumstances, restricted visiting possibilities, and limited availability of social support.

METHOD

Subjects

19 mother-infant dyads participated in the study. The infants (12 girls, 7 boys) were born at 28-35 weeks gestational age with birthweights < 2000 g.

In the time of the study the babies post-conceptional ages were 33-38 weeks (i . e ., it was still before the expected date of birth) . Their post-partum age was no more than 7 weeks . By that time the infants' medical status did not cause very serious concern, they could be taken out of the incubators and handled in room air. 15 of the 19 mothers were primiparas. Maternal age ranged from 17-34. The socioeconomic backgrounds of the families were varied, but neither very high, nor extremely low SES scores occurred in the sample.

Setting

The study took place in special perinatal centers of three hospitals in Budapest. In two of these hospitals mothers had limited access to their babies. They were allowed to visit the babies at the neonatal nurseries only when the doctors considered the infants strong enough to be breast fed, and even then they could only stay with the babies for the time of feeding. This way, even as long as 4-5 weeks may have passed in total separation. Due to these circumstances the unstructured situation in which the mother-infant interactions were observed was rather new for the dyads. In the third hospital mothers were free to stay in the neonatal nursery as long as they wished. Even there, in the first weeks the infants' medical condition imposed constraints on the mothers' contacts with them.

Data collection

Data were collected in two ways: the mothers were interviewed and the mother-infant dyads were observed. In the interviews (lasting about 30-40 minutes) each mother was asked to tell about: the pregnancy and childbirth (physical & psychological aspects); the baby (how she perceived him/her, and whether she was satisfied with his/her development); the first interactions (holding, feeding); her feelings about taking the baby home; and the support she could rely upon.

The observations were videotaped while mothers were free to handle their babies. The observations took place most often before feeding and lasted about 25 minutes.

Measures

The content of the interviews were coded for the following variables: Pregnancy (memories positive/negative); Childbirth (memories positive/negative); Fluency of talking about baby; First impression about baby (positive/negative); First interactions with baby (positive/negative); Satisfaction with the baby's development; Attitude towards taking the baby home;

Perceived support; Stress experienced in connection with the baby's premature birth (occurrence of the ten stress categories described by Pederson et al., 1986: emotionally upset; crying; psychosomatic symptoms; disappointment; alienation from infant; resentment in being separated from infant; inconvenience in visiting; worries about survival; worries about developmental prognosis; concerns about the need for special caregiving). The interview -data were grouped into three subscales: General Mood, Support, and Stress .

The mothers' and the infants' behaviours were coded using rating scales developed by Brown, Bakeman, Snyder, Fredrickson, Morgan, & Helper (1975). The scales had to be slightly modified in order to adjust to our infants' age and to the situation in which the dyads were observed. Each item was rated on a 6-grade scale. Another scale developed by Goldberg and associates (1986) was also considered. Finally only one item, Delight (joy expressed as a reaction to the baby's behaviour) was chosen for inclusion in the present analysis. It was rated on a 9-grade scale.

The scales yielded scores for the following aspects:

Mother Behaviour Rating Scale: Tense - relaxed; Interest in baby; Amount of talking to baby; Tone of mother's voice; Quality of handling the baby; Appropriateness of mother's behaviour; Touch, physical contact; Amount of looking at infant; Attempts at face-to-face or eye-to-eye contact; Holding infant close to mother's body; Positive emotions; Joyful reactions to baby's behaviour. Two subscale scores were derived from the ratings: Activity and Emotionality.

Infant Behaviour Rating Scale:

Attractiveness; Cuddliness (likes to be held or fondled); Easy or difficult to satisfy; Responsivity - to mother; Responsivity - to the inanimate environment; Happy - unhappy; Eyes open (always -never); Cues given by the baby; Activity level and quality of activity. The ratings were combined into an Infant Total Positive Score.

Two persons rated 30% of the videotapes; one of them was blind as to the mothers' background, the content of the interviews, and the infants' biomedical status. Interrater agreement was 87% for the Mother Scale and 82% for the Infant Scale.

As background information the parental SES and the infant's perinatal status, characterized by a risk scale adapted from Littman & Parmelee (1978) were used.

Data analysis was performed using Pearson correlations, Fisher Exact Tests and Student T Tests.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Due to the short time elapsed since birth and to the restricted access to their baby, mothers had very limited previous experience. When interviewed they could not tell much about the baby. Typical comments were: "We are just getting to known each other.", "I can't tell you much... the whole thing is so new".

The prevailing content areas of the interviews were the infant's physical state and changes (e.g. gaining weight), as well as worries about the developmental outcome.

The incidence of the reported stress categories was lower than expected on the basic of earlier data. The fascination of the prospects of video-recording or the short acquaintance with the interviewer may have contributed to mothers mentioning surprisingly few difficulties, worries or anxieties. The most frequent stress category mentioned was the "concern about long term prognosis", supporting the hypothesis of Klaus and Kennell (1982) and the results reported by Harmon and Culp 1981), Pederson et al. (1986) and Kalmar et al. (1992) that the prominent source of stress is likely to be the mothers' concerns about their infants rather than a grief about their reproductive failure, as postulated by some of the pioneers of research in the area (Caplan, 1960; Kaplan & Mason, 1960).

Most of the mothers had some personal support (primarily from the husband and/or own mother), but institutional support was unknown.

The mothers' activity while handling their babies appeared relatively low, remaining less than the half of the maximal score on average. It may have been partly due to the lack of experience, but it should be noted that the research team directed by Minde (1984) found a consistently low activity patterns characteristic of about 25 % of mothers who regularly visited, their very-low-birth-weight infants in the neonatal nursery.

Notable relations between the variables are the following: The mothers' scores for Activity, Emotionality, Delight and Mood were highly intercorrelated (Activity-Emotionality r=.84, Activity-Delight r=.71, Emotionality-Delight r=.70, all p<.01; Activity-Mood r=.437 p<.10). The mothers who had higher Stress indices scored lower on Delight (r=-.57, p<.05). Those who did not mention anyone to rely on displayed less positive General Mood (t=-2.16, p<.05).

The SES contributed little to the maternal variables, except for the association between SES and the perceived support (t=2.43, p<.05). In addition, certain stress factors appeared to be SES-dependent (disappointment, resentment, concerns about the need for special caregiving).

The infants' behaviour was related to the perinatal risk score (r=.60, p<.01). This confirms the association between the medical status and the behaviour of premature infants which is well established in the literature (see Vohr & Garcia Coll, 1988, for a review).

Neither the perinatal status nor the behaviour of the infants had any effect on the maternal variables. The infants' sex, however, influenced the mothers' mood and behaviour. The mothers of boys described their pregnancy more positively, spoke more positively about their infants, more of them decided to breast feed (Fisher Exact for each of these p<.05), had lower stress scores (t=2.37, p<.05), and were more active (t=.59, p<.l0). Note that neither the infants' perinatal status nor their behaviour were related to sex.

Contrary to our expectations, the hospital conditions did not affect the mothers' behaviour in the dyadic situation, nor their mood manifested in the interviews.

The results suggest that at this very early stage of the history of mother-infant dyads it is rather unilaterally the mother's personality that accounts for her attitude and style of, behaviour toward the child. The mothers´ behaviours were rather consistent with their interview materials. In examining the personal and social background of a large number of mothers of premature infants, Minde and his group found that their parenting styles were much more strongly linked to psychosocial factors than to SES or perinatal events. Minde (1984) has concluded that a mother's involvement with her own past and present interpersonal relationships. It seems to hold to our findings, also in that the SES had no direct effect on maternal interview or behavioural variables, only through the perceived support influencing the mother's mood.

In our study no real interaction could be observed in the dyadic situation. The maternal behaviours were not even influenced by the infant's state. Moreover, infants with lower Total Positive Behavioural Scores had more satisfied mothers (t=-2.93, p<.O5). Taking into consideration, in addition to the very limited length of time, the passivity and the hardly conceivable signals of the premature neonates, it is not really surprising that the mothers' behaviours were not yet shaped by the infants' behaviours. In fact, mothers' responses to infants' guest which is one of the items in the scale of Brown et al. (1975), were seen so rarely in our videotapes that this aspect of analysis had to be dropped. A certain amount of time and mutual experience seem to be indispensable for the transactional mechanism to have a discernible impact, and the baby's prematurity may cause further delays.

Figure 1

OUTLINE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN VARIABLES

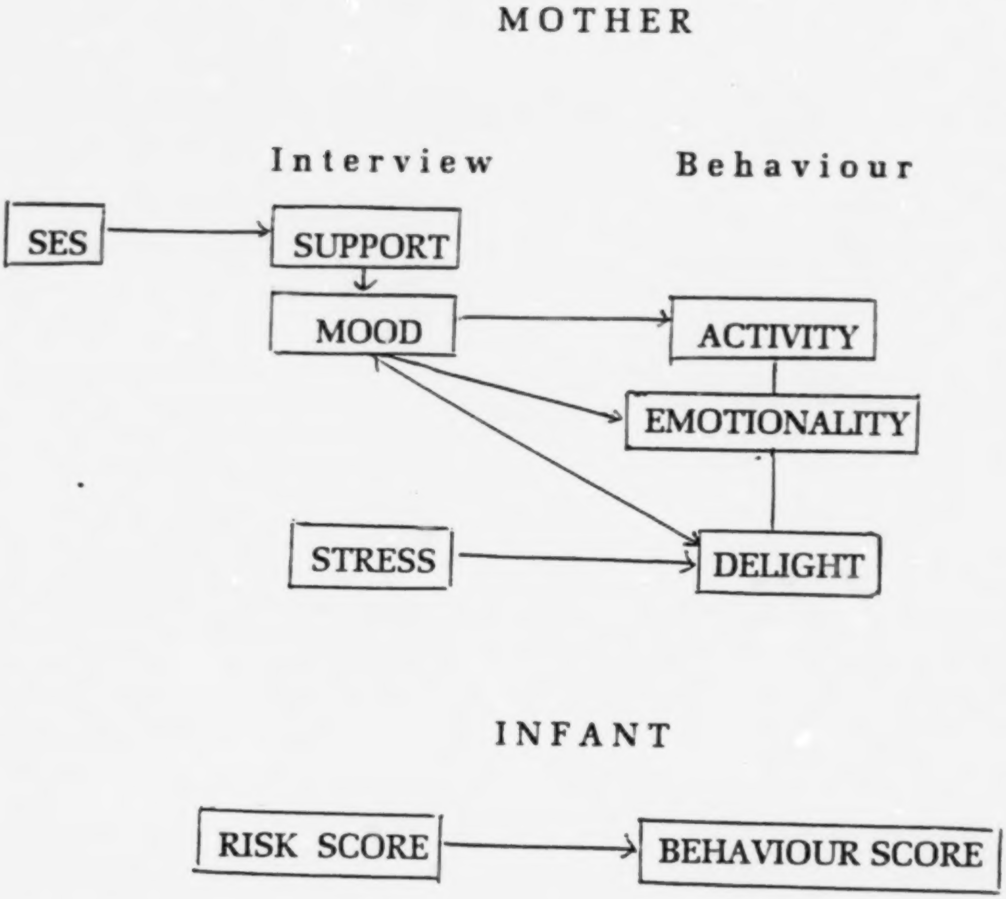
MOTHER
Interview
Behaviour
SES
SUPPORT
MOOD
ACTIVITY
EMOTIONALITY
STRESS
DELIGHT
INFANT
RISK SCORE
BEHAVIOUR SCORE

Figure 1

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WORKING THROUGH AMBIVALENCE ABOUT MOTHERHOOD DURING PREGNANCY: EFFECTS ON THE CAREGIVING ROLE

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INTRODUCTION

During the nine months of pregnancy the future parents prepare themselves for the caregiving role in many ways. The preparation for parenthood includes psychological processes on many levels of cognition, action and emotion. Here the focus is on the emotional processes of preparation.

Ambivalence about parenthood denotes the conflicting feelings about motherhood or fatherhood, i.e. feelings of both happiness and pride as well as sadness, anger and resentment when expecting or having a child. Some of the ambivalence consists of conflicts between both wanting to become a parent, and wanting to stay with, and not to give up, the free life before the child. There is also ambivalence for example about including a third person, the baby, into the couple relationship, and about leaving one's work and interests because of the baby.

Ambivalence can be dealt in many ways. Dana Breen (1975) has emphasised that it is not the amount of ambivalence that is crucial, but what the mother does with her ambivalence. Some mothers deny their ambivalence, exclude their conflicting feelings from awareness and force themselves to feel only happy. Other mothers recognize and accept their ambivalent feelings. If the mother has enough support, she may also explore and work through her ambivalence about motherhood (Niemelä 1992).

Becoming mother for the first time, is understood as one of the normative life crises in the woman´ s life (Bibring 1959). A mother who can deal in an adequate way with her conflicting relationships and life situation at this point, can grow emotionally and mature into her care giving role, while a mother who does not have enough resources and support for working through her ambivalent feelings, confronts

difficulties in many aspects of motherhood (Niemelä 1992).
Working through ambivalence involves the psychological work of recognizing, accepting, expressing one's ambivalent feelings about parenthood as well as exploring them in relation to one's own life and relationships. This is difficult, however, and can seldom be done without support.

DISCUSSION GROUPS

In order to support mothers in accepting their ambivalence and in becoming aware of their conflicts regarding motherhood, discussion groups were organized. The group leaders catalyzed the discussions to focus on the ambivalent feelings, and supported the patents-to-be to examine and work through their feelings.

In each group there were 6 mothers or 3 couples expecting a child, and two psychologists as group leaders. They met for one and a half hour once a week from mid pregnancy to some months after the child birth. There were altogether 4 groups with mothers and two groups with couples.

STUDYING THE EFFECTS OF DISCUSSION GROUPS

The mothers

The nurses in the ante natal centres told about the discussion groups selectively to the mothers, who were expecting their first child, who were 20-30 years old and who were living in a permanent relationship with the child's father.

The experimental and control group

The mothers who wanted to participate the study, could choose whether to come both to the discussions groups and to the individual research interviews ("experimental group") or to the individual interviews only ("control group"). The mothers who decided to participate in the discussion groups, could choose whether they came alone or with their partner into the couple group.

Before the discussion groups started, the similarity of the experimental (n=29) and control group (n=35) was tested by a questionnaire given to all the mothers.

Hundreds of questions were asked about the mothers' personal history, relationship with the child's father, her vocational training and work experiences, her attitudes towards and experiences of pregnancy, etc. There was only one question significantly differentiating the experimental and control mothers: the mothers who decided to participate in the new ante natal group activity had lived longer in a city, and presumably therefore were more willing to try this new opportunity.

Interviews and observations

The mothers were interviewed one month before and one month after the child birth in their own home. They also filled in a questionnaire three months after the child birth.

Different approaches were used to describe the mothers' experiences. The mothers themselves evaluated on a five point scale their responses to ready made questions and statements. Their mother image was studied by Ideal Mother Image factors developed earlier by Niemelä (1982). Each factor includes several statements evaluated by mothers on 7-point scales. Factor I includes the statements "an ideal mother is always patient", "never feels annoyed with the child, "never resents childcare", "loves her child from the beginning" and "is always stable in her mood". This factor is labelled "An Ideal Mother Denies Her Own Feelings". Factor II includes the statements "an ideal mother is unselfish", "is self-sacrificing", "gives in", "forgets her own needs because of the needs of the child", and adapts her life to the needs of the child with pleasure", and is labelled "An Ideal Mother Forgets Her Own Needs". Factor III includes the statements "an ideal mother attempts to be a perfect", and "gets all her life satisfaction through motherhood", and is called "The Perfect Mother". Mothers assessed also themselves on these statements.

The staff at child birth clinic ward made systematic observations about mothers. One month after the child birth the interviewer assessed the mothers systematically while interviewing them and also observed the breast feeding situation.

Further, the Object Relations Technique (Phillipson, 1955), a projective test where the mothers were given pictures and asked to tell a story about each picture, was used.

Comparisons

The experimental and the control group were compared by means of t-tests, analyses of variance and by discriminant analyses.

RESULTS

Acceptance of ambivalence

Before the child birth the experimental mothers, i.e. the mothers who participated the discussion groups, accepted, according to the interviewers' estimations, more their ambivalence ($p<.01$), and they also pondered and worked through their ambivalence more ($p<.05$) than did the control mothers, i.e. mothers who did not participate the discussion groups. The experimental mothers were more aware of the conflict between motherhood and work ($p<10$), as well as of the conflict between being a mother and a wife ($p<.05$) , according to the interviewers.

The mothers assessed before the child birth how much they would need to give up different aspects of their life because of the child. The experimental mothers assessed more than did the control mothers that they would need to give up their own time ($p<.05$) as well as their time with the partner ($p<.05$).

The experimental mothers assessed themselves as more insecure as mothers before the child birth. They were more insecure about the child care ($p<.05$), less sure whether they will love the baby ($p<.01$), less sure whether they will enjoy the time with the baby ($p<.0$), and less sure that they will not get tired of the baby care ($p<.05$). While the experimental mothers were before the child birth insecure about themselves as mothers, the control mothers were more worried about the child's health ($p<.01$).

As the experimental mothers accepted more ambivalence and insecurity, they also reported being more tense ($p<.05$) and, having more sleeping problems ($p<.05$) before the child birth.

Mother image

The control mothers felt more confident as mothers before the child birth. They were more sure that they will love the baby and enjoy the time with the baby and baby care. Their Ideal Mother Image was more ($p<.01$) a mother who forgets her own needs because of those of the child, who sacrifices herself, adapts her life to the need of the child, etc. The control mothers assessed even themselves being more ($p<.05$) like a mother who sacrifices herself, etc. Further, they also assessed themselves more ($p<.05$) as a mother who loves her child from the beginning, never feels annoyed with the child, never resents baby care, and is always patient and stable in her mood.

The control mothers expected motherhood to change them more. They expected that motherhood will make them feel more feminine ($p<.01$) and they agreed that only after child birth can a women feel herself really a woman ($p<.05$).

The control mothers expected to manage alone, without help, as mothers . After the child birth they expressed more ($p<.05$) one month, and ($p<.01$) three months after the child birth that one has to go through difficulties without help. They also said that "as a mother I have to be strong and go on, even when exhausted" ($p<05$). The experimental mothers communicated more that "other women have increased my self confidence and given me support as mothers".

According to the interviewers' assessments the experimental mothers were more realistic about parenthood ($p<.10$) before the child birth. They were also assessed to be more adequate as mothers ($p<.01$) and more mature as adults ($p<.01$) after the child birth. The interviewers assessed the control mothers to need more support in their mother role than the experimental mothers ($p<.10$).

Experience of motherhood

The experimental mothers were more eager ($p<.01$) to take care of the baby after the child birth, according to the staff's assessments. The experimental mothers assessed their experience as mothers as more positive ($p<.05$) than did the control mothers, three months after the child birth. Also the interviewers assessed the experimental mothers as happier (p<.10) as mothers. The experimental mothers said one month after the child birth that motherhood has changed them as persons (p<.05).

The interviewers observed breast feeding one month after the child birth. The experimental mothers seemed to have a more comfortable position while breast feeding (p<.001), were more relaxed (p<.05), and had a more warm voice when talking to the baby (p<.10).

Relationship to the partner

The experimental mothers reported more that their relationship to their partners had grown closer during the pregnancy (p<.05), while no difference was observed between the groups on the Bienvenu's (1970) measurement scale of marital communication. In the experimental group 44% of fathers and in the control group 6 % of fathers was present in the child birth (p<.01). According to the ORT-test interpretations the experimental mothers dealt with the conflicts in the partner relationship in a more mature and less defensive way (p<.05). The ORT-test results further indicate that the experimental mothers' family identity increased after the child birth while that of the control mothers decreased (p<.05).

Before the child birth the experimental mothers were more insecure (p<.01) whether their partners will enjoy being with the child. After the child birth they were about this as sure as the control mothers.

Response to the child

According to the interviewers' observations the experimental mothers were faster to respond to the baby's needs (p<.01). The experimental mothers had more different kinds of responses to their babies, both tender and irritated. Also, according to mothers' own reports, the experimental mothers go faster to the child to comfort him/her (p<.05). According to the ORT-test the experimental mothers were more accepting of their babies both before and after the child birth (p<.05). One month after the child birth the experimental mothers agreed more with the statements "I feel I am utterly important to my child" ($p<.10$), and that "My child is to me more important than anybody else" ($p<.10$). - Also the babies of the experimental mothers responded more to the mothers' voice and touch ($p< .05$. The experimental mothers

seem to resemble more the "facilitators" and the control mothers the "regulators", as described by Raphael-Leff (1991).

DISCUSSION

Significance of the group

A pregnant mother is often supposed to be happy, not insecure and ambivalent, and therefore it is difficult for her to express her own ambivalence and accept it, even to her partner. For most mothers the group was the first place where they dared to express their ambivalent feelings. Before the group they had been afraid that they were not quite normal as they did not feel only happy about pregnancy and motherhood. In the group the mothers together recognized that their feelings were normal and that it was acceptable to feel, express and explore their own feelings.

The groups focusing on ambivalence resulted in more effects than individual or couple therapy offered in the vast study of Shereshefsky and Yarrow (1973). The discussion group seems to be a more effective mode of getting in touch with ambivalence about motherhood than individual or couple therapy.

Accepting oneself

In an accepting group the participants started accepting their conflicting feelings, and realized that their conflicts were normal. They became more aware of their ambivalence, expressed their insecurities and became less afraid of them. They dared to feel their own aggression and helplessness. They grew more aware of their feelings and needs, and through this process they started to know themselves better. Thus they were able to experience their own life, relationships, pregnancy and motherhood from the centre of themselves. They were less compelled to try to feel only happy, and less compelled to compare and compete with other women about motherhood.

The control mothers who did not participate the discussion groups could not recognize and accept their ambivalence but insecurity, and were compelled to seek support from the Ideal Mother Image. They attempted to be like their ideal mother, denying their own feelings and forgetting their own needs. They wished that motherhood would make them more feminine, i.e. "real women" and "real mothers". They also felt that they must alone endure the demands of motherhood, not asking for help and support. Compared with the experimental mothers, they were more trapped into the narcissistic trap of unrecognized ambivalence, with greater ambitions as mothers.The interviewers assessed them as more unrealistic about motherhood, and less mature as mothers.

Accepting the partner

When one can accept one's own insecurity and ambivalence, it is possible also to accept the other person's feelings of helplessness and anger. The experimental mothers did not expect their partners to be sure about their love for the baby but accepted their ambivalent feelings about parenthood. Thus it was possible for the partners to express their real feelings to each other and talk about them. This improved their mutual relationship which resulted in the fathers' greater participation in the child birth. Also the mothers' family identity grew better. Most probably also the fathers who felt more accepted, could support mothers more.

Developing family identity

Experimental mothers disclosed that often when they came home from the discussion group, their partners asked what had been discussed in the "mother group". Then they told to their partners about the topics and discussions, and the couple talked about the matters discussed in the group. Thus even the partners not participating the discussion groups could discuss their insecurities and ambivalence about parenthood, together with their partners.

Perhaps both the mother's discussions in the group and the partners' discussions at home helped the couple to improve their mutual relationship and develop an adequate family identity, when the partners talked and worked through ambivalence and conflicts about parenthood. - The control mothers did not have the support of the discussion groups, and could not work through their ambivalence. It probably was also much harder for them to talk about the ambivalence with their partners. They could only deny their ambivalence, their own feelings and needs, and feel alone in their motherhood. Their partner relationships did not improve and they could not develop an adequate family identity.

Accepting the baby

When a mother can accept her own feelings and needs, she can also easier accept those of the baby. The mother who can recognize inside herself a helpless little child, is more able to accept the helpless and dependent little baby. The mother who dares to recognize her own feelings of irritation and anger, is not scared and defensive when her baby is angry and furious. She does not need to deny the baby's feelings but can accept and contain the baby's fears and fury until the baby feels better again.

The mothers who could accept their own feelings and needs, could give more space for the baby' s feelings and needs. They were more responsive towards to the baby, expressing both tenderness and irritation easier, in the presence of an observer. They were more comfortable breast feeding and enjoyed it more. They also enjoyed motherhood more and were, already at the ward, more eager to care the baby. Thus it was those mothers who during the pregnancy had been more aware of their ambivalence and felt more insecure about their willingness to care the baby, who could create a better care giving situation for the baby.

The babies who had more responsive and more comfortable mothers, were also more responsive in relation to the mother. When the mothers and fathers could give more psychological space to themselves, also the baby got more psychological space and was more free to respond in different ways .

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FATHER'S CAREGIVING ROLE AND FAMILY ADJUSTMENT

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INTRODUCTION

A diversity of factors may be associated with the development of childhood's behavior problems. The primary affecting factor is however the everyday interaction between the child and his/her primary caregivers (Dadds 1987). This interaction is connected in very complex ways to other factors in the family and environment.The ecological theory of development explains the development and individual behavior in relation to general behavioral and social systems in the person's environment. A child's behavior is determined by a network of subsystems that form the components of an other, more complex system. This ecological perspective emphasizes the hierarchical level of interaction systems. Patterson and Reid (1984) call this approach "social-interactional" emphasizing attempts to demonstrate empirically covarying relationships between "molecular" (parent-child interaction) and moral (e.g. social class, division of work) aspects of social and behavioral systems .

Dadds (1987) has demonstrated a model of resiprocical influences implicated in the development of childhood's problems. Child's personal and social adjustment is connected with day to day interaction with parents. The quality of this interaction depends on parent's personal, marital and social adjustment, which is in complex ways associated with parents marital and social support and biological and medical state of the parents. Other developmental environments (peers, school) and the biological-medical state of the child are also affecting his/her social and personal adjustment.

Parent's personal and marital adjustment is one of the most important factors affecting everyday interactions. Because the mother usually is the primary caretaker, the most investigations explain connections between mothers adjustment and the child's problems. Father's effect on the child's social-emotional development has been widely investigated in the context of the father's absence. The meaning of fathers participation in daily child care in two parent families is also rather well documented.

Father's active participation in child care is a very complex phenomenon as such and in its consequences. Day to day interaction between father and child is one important developmental factor. However father has also many indirect effects (Parke 1979). That means the viewpoint can also be closer to the functional entity of the family (Nummenmaa T et al. 1989). In several studies it has been found that father's active caregiving role has connections with his own competence as a father, the marital satisfaction and the quality of interaction between the spouses (Baruch & Barnett 1986; Crouter, Perry-Jenkins, Huston & Mc Hale 1987 Ladewig & McGee 1986; Lang & Huston 1986; Yoveg & Brett 1985). Fathers with increased reports of marital problems use less positive feedback when they are interacting with their children (Brody, Pillegrini, & Sigel 1986). In generally child's behavior problems seems to be more common in families with fathers who do not participate much (Lamb 1976; Patterson 1980). This relationship is not direct, but on the contrary combination of different factors. Several of men's psychological and social characteristics and attitudes predict his marital adjustment and commitment to the child-care. Men who enjoy and value their own capacities as a father are able to high-quality interaction with their children (Grossman, Pollack & Golding 1988)

The purpose of this study is to find out how the caretaking role adopted by the father -the temporal and emotional commitment separately and together- connects with the parent's own adjustment to parenthood and the child's behavior problems.

METHOD

Sample

The investigation is a part of follow-study. The primary group consisted of 80 urban families (Nummenmaa AR 1986). The criterion for forming subgroups were the size of the family (one or two children) and the age of the child (the stage of the family). The follow-up data consisted of 68 families. The age of the observed child in the

different subgroups was the follows:
Group 1: one child appr. 6 -year old (n= 17)
Group 2: one child appr. 6-year old, another 8 year -old (n=16)
Group 3: one child appr. 8 -year old (n=17)
Group 4: one child appr. 8-year- old, another 10 year -old (n=18)

Procedure

In the follow up study three methods of data-collection were used: interview, questionnaire (adjustment) and Q-sort technique (child's behavior problems). The interview was used to make a survey the families' daily time allocation and activities in different fields of life, father's activities with the child, experiences about fatherhood, educational attitudes and goals, and the problems experienced in the child's development and child rearing.

Variables

The purpose of this study was to explain the connections between the father's caretaking role, parent's personal adjustment and child's behavior problems. The independent (determinating) variable was father's caretaking role, which was defined according to two partial components (Nummenmaa AR 1986;1987; 1992):

1. father's temporal commitment to child care: the time father on the average spend during one work day in child care and playing with the child (in an hourly basis)

2. father's emotional commitment to child care: how father experiences child care (1= not interested.. 4= highly positive attitude) and being together with the child (1 = not interested... 4= highly positive attitude). The sumscore of the variable varied from 2 to 8.

Dependent variables were father's and mother's adjustment to parenthood assessed by Hobbs' adjustment scale (Hobbs 1965; Hobbs & Cole 1976) and child's behavior problems assessed by PS -problem sort scale of Pirkanmaa Family Test (Nummenmaa et al. 1987). Hobbs' adjustment scale is a self-report questionaire with 23 items (Hobbs 1965; Hobbs & Cole 1976). The single items explore different kind of troubles and harms parents have experienced: marital adjustment, coping as parents, coping with family-work, sleeping troubles. Every item was estimated by scale O -2. (0= never 2= often) The total adjustment score is a sumvariable (0-46), consisting of single items. High score indicates adjustment problems and low score good adjustment. PS is a card sort of 90 problems. There are eight specified problem areas with 10 ideas per area (sleeping, eating, other children, adults, hyper- or hypoactivity, cleanliness, speech and motor, fears and general problems. The sort was made together with both parents and into piles of serious, somewhat and not at al. problems. Every problem area were assessed by their own scores. Total scores of problems were also accounted (Nummenmaa T et. al. 1987).

RESULTS

The connections between the basic variables

Fathers were divided into subgroup so that both the temporal and emotional components were taken as starting points. The group criteria were formed according to the median values of the variables.

Table 1 Fathers' temporal and emotional commitment to child care crosstabulated

Emotianal commitment	Temporal commitment Weak (less than 2 h)	Strong (2 t or more h)	Total
Weak (2-6 p)	GROUP I (n=17)	GROUP II (n=l6)	33
Strong (7-8 p)	GROUP II (n=17)	GROUP IV(n=l8)	35
Total	34	34	

Father's personal adjustment to parenthood (M=7.03; Sd = 5.72) was generally estimated better (t=5.75; p<.001) than mother's one (M =9.43; Sd= 5.68). The correlative connection (Table 2) between father's temporal and emotional commitment was rather weak (r= .13). Father's temporal commitment didn't have statistically significant correlations with any of the child's behavior problems or father's (r=-.11) and mother's adjustment (r=-.03). Father's emotional commitment correlated with the eating problems (r=-32), problems with agemates (r=-.31), problems with adults (r=-.37), hyperactivity (r=-.28), total amount of problems (r=-.33) and his own adjustment to parenthood (r=-.29), but it didn't correlate with mother's adjustment.

Table 2 **The correlative connections between basic variables**

	1.	2.	3.
1.Temporal commitment			
2. Father's emotional commitment	.13		
3. Father's adjustment	-.11	-.29	
4. Mother's adjustment	.03	-.11	.30

Connection between parent's adjustment was statistically significant (r= .30). Father's adjustment correlated with child's eating problems (r=.32), problems with adults (r=.29), general problems (r=.24) and total amount of problems (r=.24). Mother's adjustment correlated only with child's sleeping problems. The age of the child didn't affect on parent's adjustment.

Father's temporal commitment to child care, parent's adjustment and child's behavior problems

Although he means of father's and mother's adjustment scores were higher in those families, where the fathers temporal commitment was weak - that means the parents had more problems in their adjustment to parenthood as in the families with high - participant fathers - the difference was not statistically significant.

Table 3 **Father's temporal commitment to child care and parent's adjustment to parenthood**

	Temporal		Commitment				
	WEAK		STRONG				
Adjustment	M	Sd	M	Sd	t	df	p
Father's adjustment	8.06	5.28	6.05	6.01	1.42	66	.15
Mother's adjustment	10.03	6.12	8.85	5.27	0.85	66	.39

Fathers temporal commitment to parenthood was associated with the child's behavior problems only in one problem area (Table 4). This was the cleanliness which generally was very rare in these ages. Children with highly participating fathers had more problems in cleanliness than those children with weakly participating. This connection was mediated by the age of the child.

Table 4 **Father's temporal commitment to child care and child's behavior problems**

	Temporal	Commitment					
	WEAK		STRONG				
Problem area	M	Sd	M	Sd	t	df	p
Sleeping	1.57	1.64	1.82	1.99	-0.57	66	.57
Eating	2.18	1.93	2.60	2.25	-0.82	66	.41
Social- with age mates	2.15	1.97	1.45	1.46	1.66	66	.10
Social - with adults	1.96	1.79	2.26	1.99	-0.62	66	.54
Activity	2.03	1.82	2.05	2.22	-0.05	66	.95
Cleaniless	0.54	0.08	1.22	1.23	-2.76	66	.01
Speech and motor	0.72	1.26	0.89	1.62	-0.45	66	.65
Fears	2.09	1.88	2.48	1.99	-0.84	66	.40
General	2.69	1.81	2.69	2.38	0.02	66	.98
Total	16.00	10.69	17.49	12.74	-0.52	66	.61

Father's emotional commitment to child care, parent's adjustment and child's behavior problems

The connections between father's emotional commitment and parents adjustment were similar as the connections with the temporal commitment. Father's weak emotional commitment meant adjustment problems for both parents - especially for fathers, but the difference was not statistically significant.

Table 5 **Father's emotional commitment to child care and parent's adjustment**

	Emotional commitment						
	WEAK		STRONG				
Adjustment	M	Sd	M	Sd	t	df	p
Father's adjustment	8.32	6.58	5.73	4.43	1.90	66	.06
Mother's adjustment	10.24	2.75	8.62	5.58	1.18	66	.24

Father's weak emotional commitment to child care was in many ways connected with the child's behavior problems. It meant more eating problems, social problems with age mates and adults. The total amount of behavioral problems was also higher.

Table 6 **Father's emotional commitment to child care and child's behavior problems**

	Emotional commitment						
	WEAK		STRONG				
Problem area	M	Sd	M	Sd	t	df	p
Sleeping	1.91	1.83	1.50	1.81	0.93	66	.35
Eating	3.00	2.27	1.79	1.74	2.46	66	.01
Social - with age mates	2.26	1.94	1.32	1.41	2.29	66	.02
Social-with adults	2.58	1.99	1.74	1.69	2.11	66	.04
Activity	2.35	1.99	1.74	2.03	1.26	66	.21
Cleaniless	0.97	1.14	0.82	1.03	0.56	66	.57
Speech and motor	0.97	1.36	0.64	1.53	0.92	66	.36
Fears	2.56	1.88	2.03	1.98	1.13	66	.26
General	3.11	2.24	2.26	1.91	1.69	66	.09
Total	19.79	12.38	13.76	10.36	2.17	66	.03

Two -way connections

Fathers were divided into subgroup so that both the temporal and emotional components were taken as starting points. The group criteria were formed according to the median values of the variables, see Table 1.The differences between the fathers in different groups according to the child's problems in different areas and mother's and father's adjustment to parenthood were reanalysed. The statistical method was multivariant analysis of variance (MANOVA). The emotional commitment had significant own effect to eating problems (p=.07), problems with agemates (p=.04), problems with adults (p=.10) and problems of cleanliness (p=.05). Also the difference in the total amount of problems was significant between the groups (p=.07). No significant two way interactions were found.

DISCUSSION

The role of the father in the child's development is a manifold and complex. Although the direct daily interaction with the child is an important developmental factor, the father has many indirect effects, which sometimes can be more important than the direct ones (Parke 1979). Father's temporal and emotional commitment to the child care have different kind of connections with parents adjustment as well as with child's behavioral problems. Particularly fathers active participation to daily homework and child care has been seen as an important factor mediating mothers marital satisfaction and adjustment (Yoveg & Brett 1985). In this study father's daily care giving role didn't clearly associate either with parent's adjustment or child's behavior problems. Although the highly participating fathers and their wives were in average better adjusted as the weakly participating ones, the difference was not statistically significant. The connections between father's participation and parent's adjustment are however basically indirect. They are differences in dual-earner and single-earner families (Baruch & Barnett 1986; Crouter et al. 1987). Men who have very autonomous wives may feel more comfortable entrusting the child care to their wives (Grossman et al.. 1988). The variables are also basically different; the division of work is a representative of the moral aspects of the family systems, while the relationship between the spouses and the parent -child interaction are "molecular" ones.

The time the father uses in child care during work days doesn't seem to have notable direct connections with qualitative variables of the observed interaction. Those fathers who participated actively in child care did not differ in their ways of guiding the play from those fathers who were less active (Lamb et al.. 1982 Nummenmaa AR 1992)

Father's emotional commitment -positive attitude toward child care -have connections with his actual level of activity in child care (Palkowitz 1984). It has further been found to have a positive effect on the child's emotional and cognitive development (Easterbrook & Goldberg 1984; Reis & Gold 1977) and has also more extensive and complex connections with observed variable of interaction than does father's temporal commitment (Nummenmaa AR 1992). According the result of this study, it seems that father's emotional commitment is more important factor as the daily caregiving. It reflects father's own adjustment and is connected with the child's problems in the family .

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PRIMARY CAREGIVING FATHERS AS "NEW FATHERS"

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> "Never give a sword to a man who can't dance."
> (Irish proverb)

During the past two decades the changing roles of fathers have been attracting considerable interest in Western societies, particularly in the Nordic countries. The women's movement, the mass media and researchers of social science, education, psychology, law etc. have challenged fathers to develop more fully the expressive dimension to their parental role, and to be more active in childrearing. Economic and social forces, notably the massive entry of women into the labour force and the recent economic depression, have also drawn fathers into the lives of their children, whether they want to be there or not. And finally, the widely accepted demand for gender equality in domestic settings has begun to bear fruit.

However, apart from any response to the women's movement, men are also seeking increased emotional closeness with their infants as part of men's movement toward fuller personhood, and as a reaction against the alienation and burnout resulting from the purely instrumental role of family provider. While some of the publicity around greater paternal involvement with infants may simply reflect current social acceptability, there has been a great deal of progress. A new model of fatherhood —"new father"—has emerged that calls for fathers to join with mothers as equal partners in child care.

Such a new model of fatherhood is regarded as having benefits not only for men, but also for women and children. It is based on the assumption that fathers can establish as close and intimate bonds with their children as mothers can, and that they can be as competent as mothers are at providing nurturance, affection and stimulation. Although a growing number of research findings (e.g., Lamb 1981; Pruett & Litzenberger 1992; Yogman, Cooley & Kindlon 1988) confirms these suppositions, many questions are still open. What is needed now is more theoretical reflection on the new fatherhood. Where is the core of fathering? What does men's greater involvement in the family mean for men themselves, for their relationships with their wives, and for the early development of their children? And finally, what is really changing?

THE CRISIS OF MASCULINITY

To understand the ongoing reformation of fathering, it is necessary to take a view of the idea of the masculinity, and furthermore, of a reconstruction of masculinity. New fatherhood can be seen as an attempt to dispose of the absurd and inhuman demands of traditional manhood. Perhaps many men have always wanted to do many things otherwise, but until now there have been few opportunities to crack the cage of masculinity.

Time (and space) does not permit me to provide a summary of the field of the psychology of men in this presentation, but let me try to sketch a few basic points. Joseph Pleck (1981) showed that one paradigm has dominated the past 50 years of research in this area—a Gender Role Identity Paradigm that assumes that people have an inner psychological need to have a gender role identity, and that their personality development depends on its formation. In this paradigm, the development of appropriate gender role identity, particularly the male identity, is viewed as a failure-prone process. This paradigm springs from the same philosophical roots as the essentialist or nativist view of sex roles— the notion that there is a feminine and masculine "essence" that is historically invariant (Clatterbaugh 1990, 17-21).

In contrast, Pleck (1981) has proposed a new paradigm, the Gender Role Strain Paradigm, which assumes that gender is contradictory and inconsistent and that the proportion of persons who violate gender roles is high. In this paradigm, gender is defined by gender role stereotypes and norms, which are imposed on the developing child by parents, teachers and peers, who subscribe to the prevailing norms and stereotypes. This paradigm springs from the same roots as social constructionism—the perspective that notions of masculinity and femininity are "relational", socially constructed, and subject to change (Kimmel 1987).

There are some well-known essentialist male writers and activists who are still seeking the ultimate human male nature. Most recently Robert Bly has maintained in his book Iron John that men are oppressed and burdened by their provider role, which cuts men off from their deeper selves and from the community and nurturance of other men. Other theorists, such as Joseph Pleck and Michael Kimmel, believe that men and women must be liberated from restricted gender roles that limit both sexes to less than full lives.

Even if there is some degree of disagreement on the origins of masculinity, the traditional norms of the male role are widely held by different (not only Western) cultures. On the basis of a review of literature, Ronald F. Levant (1992) has proposed a set of seven traditional male role norms: avoiding femininity, restrictive emotionality, seeking achievement and status, self-reliance, aggression, homophobia, and nonrelational attitudes toward sexuality. In the area of psychology, the male aggression and the emotional and social narrowness have been the focus of attention. On the other hand, social scientists have been interested, first of all, in male domination and power.

However, to many men, particularly in mid-life, the question of what it means to be a man today is one of the most persistent unresolved issues in their lives. Raised to be like their fathers, they were mandated to become the good provider for their families—and to be strong and silent. For the past two decades, men have been attempting to fulfil the requirements of the masculine mandate in the midst of a rising crescendo of criticism. Men feel that they are being told that what they have been trying to accomplish is irrelevant in today's world. Furthermore, society no longer seems to value or even permit the traditional male way of demonstrating care, through taking care of family, looking out for them, solving their problems, and being counted on to be there when needed.

" NEW " MAN AND "NEW " FATHERING

What is needed, what will help? The social construction of masculinity has collapsed before it has been systematically "deconstructed" by men's studies scholars, as recommended by Michael Kimmel (1987). Aspects of masculinity have been deconstructed by several feminists in their compelling analyses of the relationship between gender and power. The collapse of masculinity has resulted in defensiveness and demoralization. I think, therefore, that it is important to develop a positive image of masculinity that can restore men's self-respect, an image that does not revert to an outmoded model of aggressive, dominant and disconnected manhood; and one that does not backslide to the Gender Role Identification Paradigm, thus avoiding the pitfalls of thinking of masculinity as somehow "innate" and creating rigid norms and stereotypes.

So what will the new man, the man of the 1990s and beyond, be like? Ronald F. Levant (1992) has sketched him as a combination of old and new traits. He will be strong, self-reliant and reliable. He will show care by doing for others, looking out for them, and helping them in their problems. He will be assertive, but he will have a greater appreciation of his own emotional life, and an ability to express his emotions in words. Anger will retreat to an appropriate level, and he will be more comfortable with sadness and fear. He will be less afraid of shame. He will be aware of the emotions of others, and he will be the father that he wanted for himself. And finally, he will have a better balance between work and love in his life.

Is the new fatherhood a manifestation of reconstructed masculinity? Are the "involved" fathers pioneers who are courageous enough to break the traditional norms in accordance with their own tendencies toward nurturing behaviour? Or are they just men who have taken the chance to have a break, but who are otherwise as traditional as men in general?

A STUDY OF FINNISH ALL-DAY FATHERS

At present, most Finnish fathers take 1-2 weeks of paternity leave aher the childbirth, and there is a growing number of fathers who extend their leave from few weeks up to 2-3 years. During that time the Finnish social security system grants the family moderate economic support. There are two kinds of payment for full-time fathering: the actual parenal allowance (max. 176 working days) for the caring of 3-12 months old babies, and the municipal home care allowance for the parents of 1-3 year- old children. Officially, every employer is bound to release a father for the parental leave until the child is three years old.

A study which aimed to describe both the characteristics and the experiences of fathers who have taken the paternity leave was started at the beginning of this year in Jyväskylä. The first stage of the study consisted in a questionnaire survey of a nationwide sample of fathers who had taken the paternity leave during the last year for at least four months and who thus had at least one child aged less than three years.

SUBJECTS AND METHODS

In collaboration with The Social Insurance Institution (KELA) the questionnaire was mailed to 695 men who had received either parental allowance or municipal home care allowance for at least four months in 1992. After one reminder letter to all non-respondents, 360 questionnaires were returned. Thus, the return rate was only 52 per cent, probably because the municipal home care allowance does not oblige the father to leave his wage work. Therefore, even if such a father belonged to the sample, he was actually not an all-day father.

In addition to different background variables the questions dealt with the father's experiences of the paternity leave, their attitudes towards the full-time commitment, and their gender role orientation. They were asked about their readiness to leave daywork and ability to take care of the child/children and the housework. Questions dealt with the typical day schedule and the advantages and disadvantages of the commitment period, too.

Fathers' sex role orientation was measured in accordance with Sandra L. Bem's (1974) Bem Sex Role Inventoy (BSRI). A modified version of BSRI was constructed in an earlier study (Huttunen 1992) in order to adjust the items to Finnish sex role stereotypes. BSRI is a self-report inventory consisting of two subscales, one set of items measuring masculinity and the other femininity. Both the masculinity and the femininity scales are sum rating scales, comprising two uncorrelated, unidimensional variables, which show the frequency of a subject's masculine and feminine behaviour. With the inventory, each subject can be assigned to one of four gender categories: "masculine", "feminine", "androgynous" and "undifferentiated".

Next I will introduce some preliminary results of the questionnaire study: I begin with some background information and continue with some findings about the fathers' gender role orientation. Their attitudes towards the paternity leave and their beliefs concerning all-day fathering are also discussed.

RESULTS

(a) Background information

Most of the fathers (43%) had taken 6-11 months of paternity leave. The average was 12,5 months but there were men who had been involved in domestic settings for two years or more (Table 1).

Most of the men had been "true" all-day fathers: 62 per cent of their spouses had a full-time work outside the home, and the rest were studying, worked at home or had some illness. About 30 per cent of the men had prior experience of all-day fathering.

Table 1 Variation in the length of paternity leave

Length of paternity leave	n	%
Less than 6 months	34	10
6 - 11 months	143	43
1 - 23 months	112	34
More than 23 months	41	13
Total	330	100

The age of the men varied from 22 to 61, and the mean was 34 years. On an average, they had been married for 7,5 years. The level of education was considerably high: the third of the men had passed the matriculation examination, and 12 per cent had an academic degree. As in a Swedish study (Föräldralediga män 1992), the educational standard of their spouses was usually higher than the husband's education: 24 per cent of them had graduated from a university.

The very same tendency can also be seen in the occupational statuses of the men and their spouses: the proportion of white-collar spouses was sizeable (57%) compared to that of their husbands (Table 2 and 3).

Table 2 **Fathers' and their spouses' occupational status**

Occupational status	Fathers %	Spouses %
Self-employed and farmers	21	9
Official	40	57
Worker	36	20
Student etc.	3	14
Total	100 (349)	100 (345)

Table 3 **The occupational statuses of the paired couples (n=342)**

Father's occupation	Spouse's occupation				
	Self-employed %	Official %	Worker %	Student %	Total %
Self-employed	23	45	18	14	100
Official	5	78	5	12	100
Worker	6	43	37	14	100
Student etc.	0	50	8	42	100

X^2= 77,99, df= 9; p< 001

According to the men's comments, the timing of a father's choice to stay at home had in many cases coincided with such turn of life as the change of workplace, unemployment, starting of studies etc., but in general it seems that the choice was their own. The most important motives were as follows:

1. father's own conviction (83%)
2. spouse's opinion (67%)
3. spouse's satisfying job opportunities (53%)
4. father's weakened job opportunities (49%).

Last April, when the questionnaire was mailed, 55% of the fathers had returned to the work, 16% continued all-day fathering, and 21% were unemployed.

(b) Gender role orientation

When the fathers of the study were divided into the four gender categories, the largest group (35%) displayed androgynous gender role orientation. The results of an earlier study (Huttunen 1992) made it possible to compare the "new" fathers of the study to the "ordinary" fathers (Table 4).

Table 4 **Fathers' gender category in this data ("New fathers") compared with the data ("Ordinary fathers") of an earlier study (Huttunen 1992)**

Gender category	"New fathers" %	"Ordinary fathers" %
Androgynous	35	25
Feminine	17	21
Masculine	24	29
Undifferentiated	24	25
Total	100 (340)	100 (113)

$X^2 = 4.18$, df = 3; n.s.

According to Table 4, it can be argued that "new" fathers are, in the first place, androgynous, not purely feminine men, and in comparison to "ordinary" fathers, there are fewer purely masculine men among them (statistically, however, these differences were not significant).

(c) Attitudes towards paternity leave and beliefs on all-day fathers

The questionnaire included also statements concerning fathers' attitudes towards the paternity leave and beliefs on all-day fathers. The statements were so-called Likert items with five response options from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". The fathers answered as follows:

Paternity leave	Percentage of "strongly agree" and "agree"
- "..brings the child closer to the father"	93
- "..puts values into the right order"	55
- "..is the best time in a man's life"	50
- "..makes a man grown-up"	35
- "..should be compulsory to every man"	27
- "..is a mentally hard time to a man"	27
- "..is palmy days for the wife"	24
- "..makes a man suffer from loneliness"	21
- "..weakens the man's self-esteem"	6
An all-day father ("househusband")	
- "..is a 'Lotto win' to the children"	54
- "..is respected by people"	42
- "..is the envy of the neighbours"	20
- "..is mistreated by society"	20
- "..is supported by neighbours"	19
- "..is the pet of the next-door ladies"	15
- "..tends to lose his old friends"	14
- "..has to put his marriage to a test"	13
- "..is regarded as an idler by other men"	7

Paternity leave was regarded as very important for the father-child relationship, and for the man himself, too. The potential negative consequences of the paternity leave were not underlined. An all-day father was considered mainly a "good" man: a Lotto win to the children and a respected man by the other people.

CONCLUSIONS

As expected, the level of education of the all-day fathers, and especially that of their spouses, was considerably high. In this respect the results correspond to the findings of earlier studies (e.g., Radin1988). Looking at the Finnish social security system, it is understandable that the husbands of well-to-do women are more capable of taking the paternity leave. On the other hand, the roles of primary caregiving father and "househusband" are also matters of personal reflection and, consequently, matters of a man's experience and ability to make personal choices. No doubt, years of schooling produce such experiences.

The results of the study suggest that the "new" fathers display both masculine and feminine behaviour, in other words: most of them were androgynous. Studies in California and in Australia have revealed that the more androgynous and feminine men are more involved with their children than men with more traditional sex-role orientations (Feldman, Nash & Aschenbrenner 1983; Russell 1978). There have been contrary findings at least in a somewhat different culture. Lamb et al. (1982) interviewed two groups of Swedish fathers from a wide range of social classes: those who took paid paternity leave, and matched control group of fathers who did not. They found that sex-role orientation was unrelated to father's involvement in child care.

In addition to fathers' own characteristics, factors associated with their wife/partner seems to influence their commitment to all-day fathering. William Marsiglio (1991) convincingly argues that women serve an important "gatekeeper" role in terms of paternal involvement: "new" fathers presuppose "new" mothers. Interestingly, in this study, many of the most important motives for all-day fathering were associated with fathers' spouses: with their opinion, their job opportunities, and of course, with their schooling. Consequently, to raise the generation of "new" fathers is necessarily related to the overall change of gender roles.

The questionnaire also included many free-response questions about the fathers' experiences during the paternal leave. Many answers were really informative and illustrative, but the time does not permit me to make a review of this data. As a very brief conclusion, it is worth mentioning that once drawn into the child's domain, many men seem to have discovered the pleasures and rewards of establishing intimate relationships with their children. Unlike women, men do not seem to talk about their children's caretaking needs or their own caregiving role; rather, they keep their experience to themselves, as if they had discovered a wonderful secret that can be preserved only by not calling attention to it.

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PARENT'S EXPERIENCED DIFFICULTIES TO BRING UP THEIR BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE AGE OF NURSERY SCHOOL

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INTRODUCTION

To what extent parents make a systematic difference between boys and girls in their rearing practices is an important question because it activates us to think the origin of the behavioral differences known or suspected to exist between males and females. The theory that sex-typed behavior is brought through shaping by parents is widely used. The existence of such shaping behavior is in accord with social-learning theory.

The home environment is the first and perhaps most important agent of such shaping, reinforcement and modelling, but also others, particularly peers and teachers, TV and literary and so on play a role. In this research we are interested in only parents' schemes about boys and girls and parents' opinions how to bring up their child.

Schemes describe how social information is selectively perceived and organized in memory. Because of the complexity of the social environment we all have to be selective in what we notice, learn and remember. Our categorizations of people most often are based on visible characteristics such as gender, age, race and so on.

To bring up children at home is very complex social situation for parents. That´s why they are using some categorizations of their child. For instance the culture has an effect on the ways parents ought to bring up their children. Every child is individual: according many researches parents' attitudes about their children are different because of the childrens' individuality. Children's characteristics, such as age, sex, temperament, intention, and particular behavior, or the context in which the behavior occurs, all influence parental responses. The bidirection of the child's temperament and parental attitudes change as a result of characteristics of the child. (Holden & Edwards 1989) In this research I want to study parents' categorizations of their child according to their gender.

RESEARCH METHOD, SUBJECTS AND STUDY QUESTIONS

The data has collected by questionnaires where parents are describing the child , their own child. The research question is: Have parents of boys and girls experienced them differently as the objects of bringing up. I have two different data materials: three years old babys' parents and five years old childrens' parents. Both groups have answered the same questionnaire. I have tables describing the differences in opinions between boys' and girls' parents. That means that I am not interested in the absolute differences between boys and girls, only the significances in differences.

The data includes about 200 parents of three years old children. In most cases mothers answered the questionnaire. That means 89 percent of three years old childrens' questionnaires are filled by mothers. Fathers have filled 3 percent of questionnaires and the rest of questionnaires are filled by both parents. The other data is of five years old children. There are more than 200 parents. In that material questionnaires are filled by mothers in 66 percents, 29 percent by fathers and 5 percent by both parents. Most of three years old children are living in their homes all the day, but all of those five years old children are in day time in communal day care centres. Parents have filled the questionnaires in their homes, because we wanted them to think how they consider their son or daughter at home environment.

Parents have described their son or daughter in different situations: in basic care situations, behaving with other children, and with adults, and behaving in play situations. Last theme is the disagreements which parents have thought to have with their children. The instruction is same within each sub theme: how often their son or daughter behaves by the way described in the questionnaire, which is developed by Eeva Huttunen (1988).

RESULTS

In basic care situations at home parents are considering girls a little bit easier to bring up than boys (Table 1). At three years age girls are dressing oneselves more briskly than boys and girls are not so restless and disturbing than boys in dining time. These same differences are seen at the age of five. In addition to this five years old boys are considered by parents a little bit more difficult to fall asleep than girls.

Then we are looking how children are behaving with other children considered by their parents. There are 8 items with which parents are describing their child's social skills (Table 2). According 2 items about 8 parents are looking at girls a little bit more skillful than boys at the age of three: girls are taking other childrens' proposals and action into consideration more carefully than boys and girls are not so aggressive than boys at the age of three: they do not fight or hit other children so often than boys. In addition of that three years old girls are also giving more often orders to other children than boys. At the age of five there are only 2 items where parents consider boys different than girls: boys are more quarrelling and more aggressive than girls.

How is child behaving with adults? seeTable 3. At the age of three girls and boys are not different for parents to bring up. So compared with Table 2 parents are considering at the age of three boys have more difficulties than girls only with other child, but not with adults. At the age of five boys are more aggressive than girls with adults because of denials and adversities.

In the next Table (Table 4) we are looking at differences between boys and girls in their play and work behavior. We can see a big difference according the age of children: there are much more differences between boys and girls considered by parents at the age of five than at the age of three. Parents are thinking that three years old boys become easily more boisterous in play than girls. Five years old girls are more active and creative than boys and also more energetic considered by parents. At the same age boys are considered more shortsighted than girls. Boys do not want to listen other people so much than girls, boys become more easily boisterous than girls, boys get angry more easily and lose one's temper if they can not win on games.

In summing up these 4 tables we can see that parents are considering especially in playing and in contacts with other children boys less skillful than girls. The other main result is that there are more differences between boys and girls at the age of five than at the age of three. The first mentioned point: boys are considered more aggressive and less skillful socially than girls is quite well known, the same result has found in many studies already since twenties (Terman 1925, cited Cohn 1991). The most interesting result is that more differences between boys and girls are perceivable at the age of five, not yet at the age of three.

The last table of the results (Table 5) tells us what kind of disagreements parents have with their children. At the age of three only childrens' noisy play is difficult to bear, but at the age of five there are three different situations where parents and children have disagreements considered by parents: noisy plays, disobedience and difficulties in dining. So parents have more difficulties to bring up boys than girls and those difficulties more often with five years old than with three years old.

In addition to those previous items I have asked parents to tell if they think their son or daughter has some problems at day care situations. That question is asked only by five years old childrens' parents. Boys have had more problems at day care than girls asked by parents (*). 27 percent of boys and 17 percent of girls have had some problems. Also parents are thinking that the day care centres' staff has a more negative attitude towards boys' problems than girls' problems (*). I asked parents to tell how they think their child enjoys at day care. There is again the significant difference between boys' and girls' parents opinions: girls' parents are thinking their child enjoys much more than boys' parents at day care (**).

CONCLUSIONS

Lytton and Romney (1991) got the result from the large meta-analysis consisting parents' differential socialization of boys and girls that there are within most socialization areas nonsignificant differences between boys and girls. The meta-analysis of 172 studies consists children from birth to the age of 19. The only significant sex difference was in physical punishment with more being meted out to boys. Greater resort to physical punishment for boys may be reaction to boys' more defiant or disobedient behavior, researchers are thinking.

The meta-analysis of Lytton and Romney has demonstrated a virtual absence of sex-distinctive parental socialization pressures, except in one area, physical punishment. This meta-analysis result is conflict with some statistics about children's atypical development (Table 6). Now we are comparating abnormal and normal behavior of children, that's why the conflict is understandable.

According statistics collected by Bee (1992), and according the meta-analysis of Lytton and Romney of physical punishment and also according Finnish questionnaire data I told You there is a tendency that boys are more difficult to bring up than girls. What does it mean that parents think boys having more difficulties than girls at day care and in playing with other children at home situations? Is it possible or necessary or unavoidable to do something? Is it possible to change parents' opinions about boys' difficulties? There are two possible sources for considered differences between boys and girls. The first is that boys and girls are really different and the other is that only the considerations of boys' and girls' behavior is different. Of course, it is necessary that the objective behavior and the considered behavior are correlated to each other, but the most important question is how much culturally based schemes effect to our perceptions of boys and girls besides what children "really" are.

Could some intervention change parents' opinions about boys and girls? I have one evidence to change opinions about boys and girls, not within parents but within kindergarten teachers: we gave in-service training to kindergarten teachers and they changed their opinions. After the in-service training kindergarten teachers did not consider boys so much problematic in day care situations than before (Table 7). The theme of the in-service training was how boys and girls are different in their development. Kindergarten teachers started to accept for instance boys' heavy tendency to physical activities and boys' difficulties to sit down quietly for a long time. The in-sercive training reduced stereotypic perceptions of boys' behavior.

The conclusion of Finnish data is that we must give different advise, knowledge and information to boys' parents than girls' parents for instance during the parents' meetings in day care. Especially five years old childrens' parents feel that bringing up a boy is difficult. Perhaps discussion groups for boys' parents could be helpful. Also the co-working between day care staff and parents must be different with boys' parents than with girls' parents. Although we know that the development processes of boys and girls are different we have not yet accepted it in action.

Table 1: CHILD'S BEHAVIOR IN BASIC CARE SITUATION

	3 years old 88 girls 111 boys	5 years old 100 girls 124 boys
	Differences between boys and girls considered by parents	
Copes independently in a toilet	n.s.	n.s.
Dresses oneself briskly	*** girls>boys	* girls>boys
Restless and disturbing in dining	** boys>girls	*** boys>girls
Dawdles over one's eating	n.s.	n.s.
Quieted down for sleeping is difficult	n.s.	n.s.
Willingly goes to sleep and falls asleep easily	n.s.	* girls>boys

Table 2 CHILD'S BEHAVIOR WITH OTHER CHILDREN

	3 years old 88 girls 111 boys	5 years old 100 girls 124 boys
	Differences between boys and girls considered by parents	
Takes other childrens proposals and action into consideration	* girls>boys	n.s.
Praises and recognizes one's companions	n.s.	n.s.
Orders and domineers over other children	* girls>boys	n.s.
Quarrels, teases and disturbs other childrens' action and play	n.s.	** boys>girls
Fights and hits other children	* boys>girls	** boys>girls
Is introverted and avoids the company of other children	n.s.	n.s.
Is timid, slowly warming with one's contact to other children	n.s.	n.s.
Easily gets a contact with other children	n.s.	n.s.

Table 3 CHILD'S BEHAVIOR WITH AN ADULT

	3 years old 88 girls 111 boys	5 years old 100 girls 124 boys
	Differences between boys and girls considered by parents	
Becomes inspired about adults suggestions of plays and actions	n.s.	n.s.
Denials and adversities cause aggressive behaviour in child	n.s.	** boys>girls
Child is dependent on adult and tends to attract attention in adult	n.s.	n.s.
Is timid, slowly warming with one's contact with an adult	n.s.	n.s.
Easily gets a contact with an adult	n.s.	n.s.

Table 4 CHILD'S PLAY AND WORK BEHAVIOR

	3 years old 88 girls 111 boys	5 years old 100 girls 124 boys
	Differences between boys and girls considered by parents	
Child is active, unprompted and creative	n.s.	* girls>boys
Shortsighted, concentration on lays and action is hard	n.s.	** boys>girls
Child doesn't listen what is said or advised to him/her	n.s.	*** boys>girls
Becomes easily boisterous in plays	* boys>girls	** boys>girls
Child gets angry and loses ones temper unless successes in one's tryings or win on plays or games	n.s.	** boys>girls
Lively, always energetic and likes to lay with other	n.s.	** girls>boys
Child gets depressed when fails and leaves off trying	n.s.	n.s.

Table 5 DISAGREEMENTS ON PARENTS WITH CHILDREN

	3 years old 88 girls 111 boys	5 years old 100 girls 124 boys
Differences between boys and girls considered by parents		
About going to sleep and awakenings	n.s.	n.s.
About dining	n.s.	* boys>girls
Child is disobedient and defiantic	n.s.	* boys>girls
Child doesn´t take care of one´s things	n.s.	n.s.
Child is quarrelling with other children	n.s.	n.s.
Child takes too much attention	n.s.	n.s.
Child is playing too violent and noisy plays	*** boys>girls	*** boys>girls
Child is irritable and ill-humored	n.s.	n.s.
Child gets fits of rage and tantrum	n.s.	n.s.
Child is jealous	n.s.	n.s.

Table 6 SEX DIFFERENCES IN THE INCIDENCE OF ATYPICAL DEVELOPMENT (Bee 1992, p.559)

Type of problem	approximate ratio of males to females
PSYCHOPATOLOGIES:	
ATTENTION DEFICIT HYPERACTIVITY DISORDER	2 : 1
ANXIETY AND DEPRESSION: Preadolescence	1 : 1
ANXIETY AND DEPRESSION: Adolescence	1 : 2
ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ALL CHILDREN WITH ALL DIAGNOSES SEEN IN PSYCHIATRIC CLINICS	2 : 1
INTELLECTUAL ATYPICAL DEVELOPMENT:	
MENTAL RETARDATION	3 : 2
LEARNING DISABILITIES	3 : 2
PHYSICAL PROBLEMS:	
BLINDNESS OR SIGNIFICANT VISUAL PROBLEMS	1 : 1
HEARING IMPAIRMENT	5 : 4
AUTISM .	3 : 1

Sources: Achenbach 1982, Anthony 1970, Eme 1979, Rutter Garmezy 1983, Rutter 1989

Table 7 **HOW MANY DIFFICULT CHILDREN HAVE YOU IN YOUR CHILD DAY CARE GROUP?**

	Before the intervention In autumn 1990	After the intervention In spring 1991
Girls	60	35
Boys	162	55

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MARITAL ADJUSTMENT IN FUNCTION OF THE CHILD'S AGE, THE FAMILY'S SOCIAL STRATA AND REGIONAL POSITION

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The present report represents two "dramatically" different periods of my research initiated in 1986. During the first period the following hypothesis reflecting the structural-functional and developmental approach of family sociology was formulated/outlined in connection with family functioning.

1. There is an obvious difference between intellectual and skilled worker families represented in the content elements of the spousesr' role taking behaviour.

2. The more educated (intellectual) families would represent a higher level of expressivity, emotional warmness than families with less education.

3. The general/overall level of expressivity would decrease with shifts along the family life cycle: families with school child (6-14ys) would show a lower level of expressivity than families with infant (0-3 ys).

These hypotheses and the operational questions stemming from them require some further clarification before speaking about the procedure applied in this investigation.

The overall level of expressivity theoretically can be measured by the content elements of parental role taking behaviour, by getting information about the personal allocation of tasks and duties to be completed by husbands and wives, and also by measuring the families' emotional climate. Whilst planning this research I wanted to elaborate measures reflecting the allocation of the content elements of parental role taking behaviour and that of representing the families' emotional climate.

Procedure

Semistructured in-depth interviews were administered to 63 spouses in a conjoint situation. (The sample characteristics can be seen on Table 1.)

Table 1.

SAMPLE

	Families with infant		Families with school child	
BUDAPEST	*skilled workers* n=10	*intellectuals* n=11	*skilled workers* n=10	*intellectuals* n=10
DEBRECEN	*skilled workers* n=10		*skilled workers* n=12	
Sum:	20	11	22	10

The interview covered all the relevant events of the parents' cohabitation and also required evaluations, reflections to their mutual life, child rearing habits, their satisfaction with their marriage. The tape recorded interviews were content analysed in order to sort out the proper response categories, after that the interviews were coded according to the chosen categories.The Quattro data base handler was used, paired comparisons were carried out with X-square in order to be able to evaluate the amount of differences between the groups or subgroups according to the response categories.

Table 2. shows the main branches of findings obtained in this period.

Table 2.

Is there any difference in the content elements of role taking behaviour and/or certain measures of family climate in function of the chosen "independent" variables?

	social group	region	life cycle
content elements of role taking behaviour:			
distribution of tasks	0	0	significant
child's physical care-taking	significant	0	significant
child's school carger	0	0	no comp.
Family's emotional climate			
mother's well beeing at home	tendency	tendency	no comp.
the day's most pleasant period	tendency	tendency	no comp.
satisfaction with the child	tendency	tendency	tendency
satisfaction with the time spent together	tendency	0	no comp.

As it can be seen the "landscape" is controversial enough, requiring further analysis and data collection also.

During the second phase of this research the following questions were set up representing this previously mentioned dramatic change of my research interest.

1. What is the stronger determinant of marital satisfaction: the allocation of the content elements of parental role taking behaviour or the cognitive representation of this role taking behaviour including the perception of role expectations and role completion on both side.

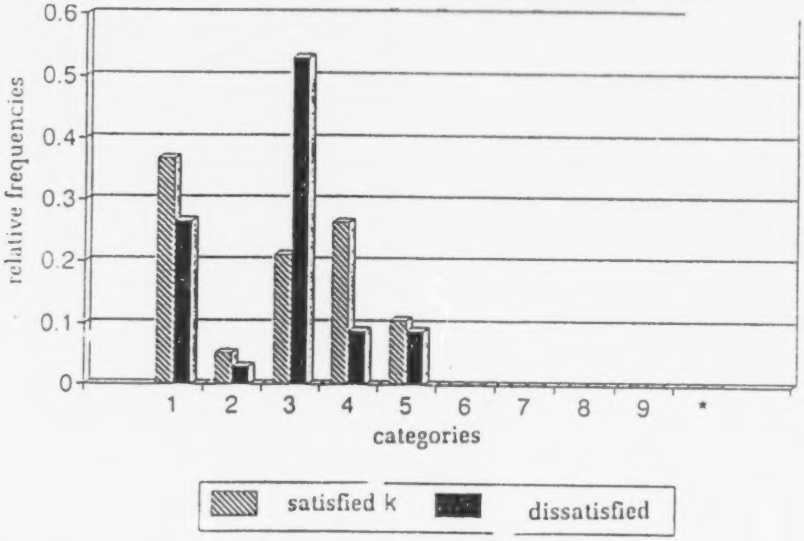
2. Is there any connection between the marital satisfaction and the sociological background of the marital partners. (These determinants were conceived to be the independent variables of the first research period.)

3. Are the shifts in the family life cycle reflected in the marital satisfaction/adjustedness of the spouses.

The results obtained in the 2nd period are summarized in the histograms of the next figures.

Figure 1.

Distribution of tasks connected with the houschold duties in function of marital adjustment

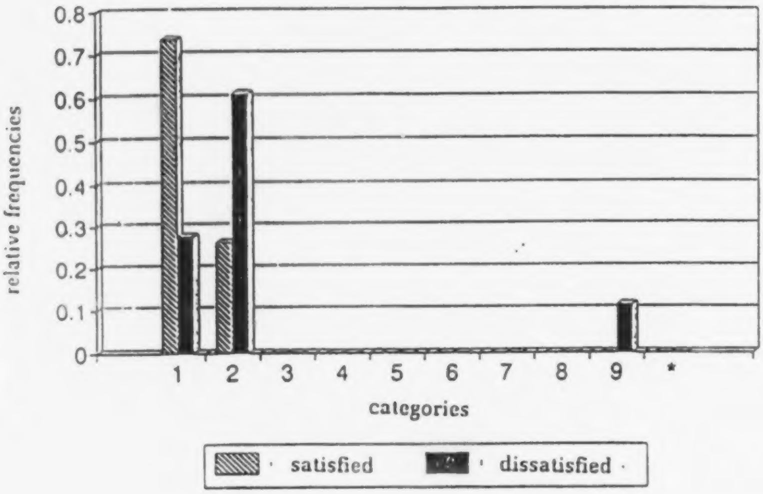


categories:

1. everything was done by the wife
2. everything was done by the husband
3. it was the couple's ambition to do everything together
4. the grandparents participated in this task regularly
5. they had some outside payed help

Figure 2.

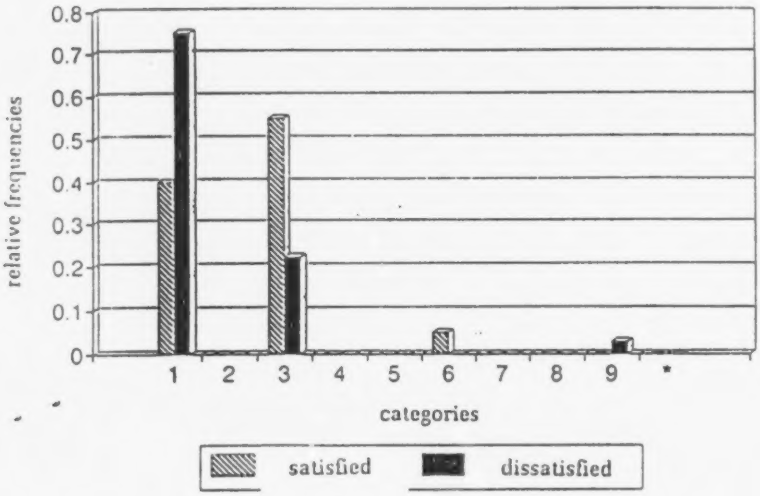
The child's evaluation in function of the marital adjustment



1. they are satisfied with child
2. the child is different from their expectations

Figure 3.

Evaluation of the period just after the child has been born in function of the marital adjustment



categories

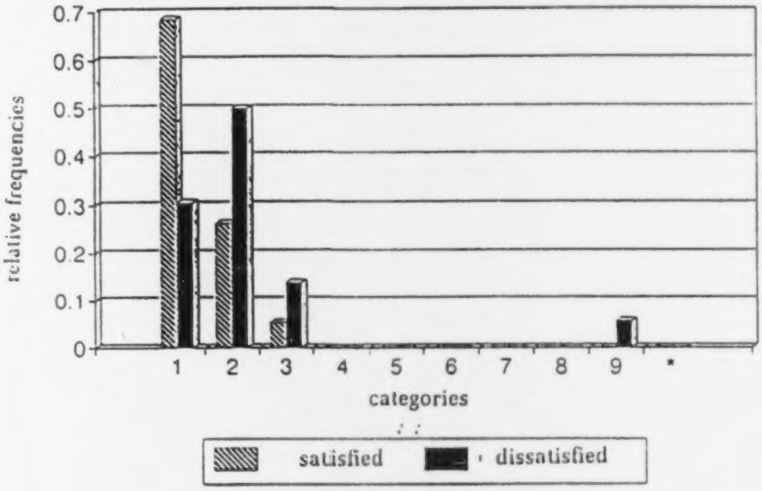
1. It was terribly difficult for them , the mother felt herself extremly tired

2. It took quite a short time till they found an acceptable new rythm

Figure 4.

Figure 9.

Daily timetable of the family just after the target child has been born - in function of the marital satisfaction



1. they were oriented by the child's daily rythm
2. they tried to maintain the preceeding situation
3. the whole life changed dramatically
4. sg. else

The present landscape is still embarrassing although it seems to be very likely that the main determinant of the evaluation of the component elements of family functioning is marital satisfaction.
The marital satisfaction can not be seen as something ultimately determined by the social status, by the allocation of content elements of parental role taking behaviour or the current stage of the family life cycle. Probably these factors work together in a dynamic way. The main factor seems to be the cognitive representation of the whole situation.
To interpret the findings we have to refer to two different theoretical frameworks. First the notion stemming from the interactional developmental psychology emphasizing the "goodness of fit". Second the main statements of the exchange theory elaborated by Thibaut&Kelley.

A NEW APPROACH TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF SPATIAL COORDINATES

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INTRODUCTION

In a cross-cultural comparative study we examine the formation of spatial orientation generally the metalinguistic role of sensomotor and verbal-cognitive experiences. The previous cross-cultural investigations of this problem proved that, as a result of the child's interactional experiences, the differences in the natural and objective environment influence the time and the sequence of development of concepts (e.g.: space) on the concrete operational level of thinking (Dasen,1984). In order to understand better the different effects on process of concept formation we examine this development in two language areas which belong not to the same language groups.

We consider the children's reactions as the features of their different problem-solving mode and the indicators of their developmental level.

The investigation of concepts of horizontal and vertical seems to serve our purpose well. Let's see why.

The extension of spatial coordinates is necessary to represent the space as an organic frame including objects.This statement is interesting in several viewpoint:

I. Every spatial knowledge has two aspects:

1. a physical which is something close to the sensorimotor and everyday experiences;
2. a logico-mathematical by which we mean the euclidy-geometry.

The first is a pragmatique and the second according to Piaget is an internal construction coming after development of the topological concepts emerging earlier genetically.

II. Psycholinguistical reflections: refer to Vygotsky-Piaget's polemic focusing the relation between language and thought. Comparing the indogerman and finno-ugrian names of coordinates we can discover several differences among them e.g.:

- the Hungarian words are closer to the everyday experiences of children;
- the Hungarian words get into wider semantic "field" than the French ones which may result more parallel activations:
- the Hungarian phrases are semipragmatical words so they are less abstract, etc .

III. The questions and the methods of the original Piaget's experiments were macrogenetical and epistemological. Our work takes into consideration microgenetical and functional approaches of B. Inhelder's school, too.

METHODS

Subjects

Subjects were 145 children aged 5-12 from kindergarten and school in 10 age-groups which follow one another with a difference of 6 months between 5 - 6.6 and a year between 7-12 years. Some of them (two boys and two girls in each school-groups) are specializing in music. The numbers of girls and boys are the same.

Methods

1. BENDER. A Test for 5-6;6-year-old and B Test for 7-12-year-old to measure up the levels of sensomotoric coordination.
2. Reproduction of PIAGET-INHELDER's experiment concerning the concept of horizontal.
3. Reproduction of PIAGET-INHELDER's experiment concerning the concept of vertical.
4. Supplementary experiment with a special instrument (a small table with a revolving circular upper part drawn diagonally with a 3 cm wide blue stripe) using in two positions (standing and facing).

RESULTS

Effects of age

The age influences the achievement significantly but in different ways in different tasks.

The development is progressive from 5 to 12 in the all variables of Bender Test,
- comprehension of words expressing spatial orientation
- the abilities of verbalization.

The development is not continuous: It is progressive from 5 to 10 but after it has a big break and goes back to the level of 8 - 9 years old and does not achieve the level of 10 -year-old even at 12. e.g.: in
-all tasks of the original Piaget's experiments (anticipation, reconstruction, according to drawing.)
-measured time spent in the tasks but in inverse manner.

Sex differences

The girls are better in all tasks at the age of five. The differences are significant $(p<O.OOO)$ in the case of

-Bender A Test:
-anticipation of the vertical (drawing houses to the hillside):
-the reconstruction (drawing the level of water to the bottles observing it;
-comprehension of words "HORIZONTAL" and "VERTICAL";
- the quality (grammatical type) of verbalization.

The girls use much more often spontaneous gestures to express their idea about coordinates.They are better in the correction of their own fault drawings and they show learning in the process of experiment. But later it changes. The boys aged 6 achieve the results of 5-year-old girls. After it the boys´ development is progressive and harmonious while the girls´ one is often interrupted by stagnations or regression.

Development of cognitive abilities

We can not find any significant dlfference according to
-using the right or left hand;
-learning in normal school or specializing in music.

We found high and positive correlations between the results of Bender Test and the issues of Piaget' s and supplementary experiments ($p< 0.001$). It proves that the achievement of copying two-dimensional figures (mainly the reproduction of angles and directions) predicts well the level of spatial orientation, because they have a common basis: the sensomotoric schemes.

The development of concept of horizontal and vertical are not the same. The concept of the horizontal become perfect earlier than the concept of the vertical in our sample contrasted with Piaget's results. This difference is existing in understanding of the word of "horizontal" and "vertical" but it is not so significant and this ability is quite developed at the age of nine.

The children aged 5-12 years are better in the reproduction than the anticipation. We wondered if learning would come into existence during the investigation. We compared the results of the first and sixth parts of the Piaget's experiment related to the horiontal and found significant difference ($p<0.000$) between them. Of course, the last was the best.

Our subjects show quicker progress in the development of spatial coordinates than Piaget's and the Swiss colleagues. The difrerence is not significant. The rate of those who reach the level of formal operations of thinking are similar but the number of our subjects are just before it, at the transitional period, see Table 1.

We found that 131 children (90%) understand the names of coordinates and 82 (63%) use them spontaneously.

We examined the relation between the Piagetian stages of thinking
and the verbalization of the vertical and horizontal. Every child is able to express or to define somehow the coordinates but subjects (15 boys and 4 girls) standing in

the lower levels (I. II. A, II. A-II. B.) give more simple answers ,e.g.:

1. Verbal expression are based on the assimilation to the child's own actions: "It stands up.", "It squotes."
2. Usage of adverbs of space to express WHERE is /goes the water inside the bottle if we move that. " It is on the top" "to the left"
3. Usage of adverbs of manner to define the coordinates . "In a straight line, or "It is in a slanting direction."

At the transitional period (II. B-III. A) children use all types of responses, but
4. the usage of similes - originated in the wider natural and objective environment , e.g."It is like the water in the see or in the river." and
5. the usage of adjectives: "smooth" or "straight" are significant in this group.
6. a big part of our subjects use the correct names to define the coordinates. This type of answers is become general from the transitional period, see Table 2 .

We examined with t-test what do these 60 children know. We got that their results are significantly better than the others:

- in all tasks of Piaget's experiments ($p< 0.000$);
- in the reproduction of angles of Bender Test ($p<0.000$);
- understanding and taking better instruction related to coordinates ($p<0 .000$);
- they are quicker ($p<0 .000$).

It was unexpected that they make so often spontaneous movement with their body or hand to express the coordinates than the members of the other groups.

DISCUSSION

Our study was based on that hypothesis that the Hungarian names of coordinates - as they are not so abstract- promote and accelerate the development of concept-formation of horizontal and vertical.

It is not a new idea. Paivio showed the relation between the image evoking capacity of verbal stimuli and its abstractness: the higher is the abstractness of a word the lower its image evoking capacity.

We found Hungarian precedents, too. Putnoky - based his idea on Osgood's theory- suggested that the composition of the meaning of an abstract concept is based on mental motor processes because they affect as a motor mediation promoting the generalization and later the differentiation, too. According to Baum's (1951), Osgood's (1953), Lacey's (1959), Goss (1961) and the others results the formation of conceptual meaning of the word is supported mainly by the mediated similarity and generalization.

Comparing Piaget's and our results we can draw the inherence that the concepts of spatial coordinates develop relatively earlier at the Hungarian-speaking children. So our results not only confirm the previous theory but represent definitely from the ontogenetic viewpoint .

HORIZONTAL = ViZSZINTES in Hungarian
Viz = Water, Szint = Level
= like the level of water.

VERTICAL = FÜGGöLEGES in Hungarian
FÜGG (verb) = Hanging (things)
FÜGGÖNY= CURTAIN

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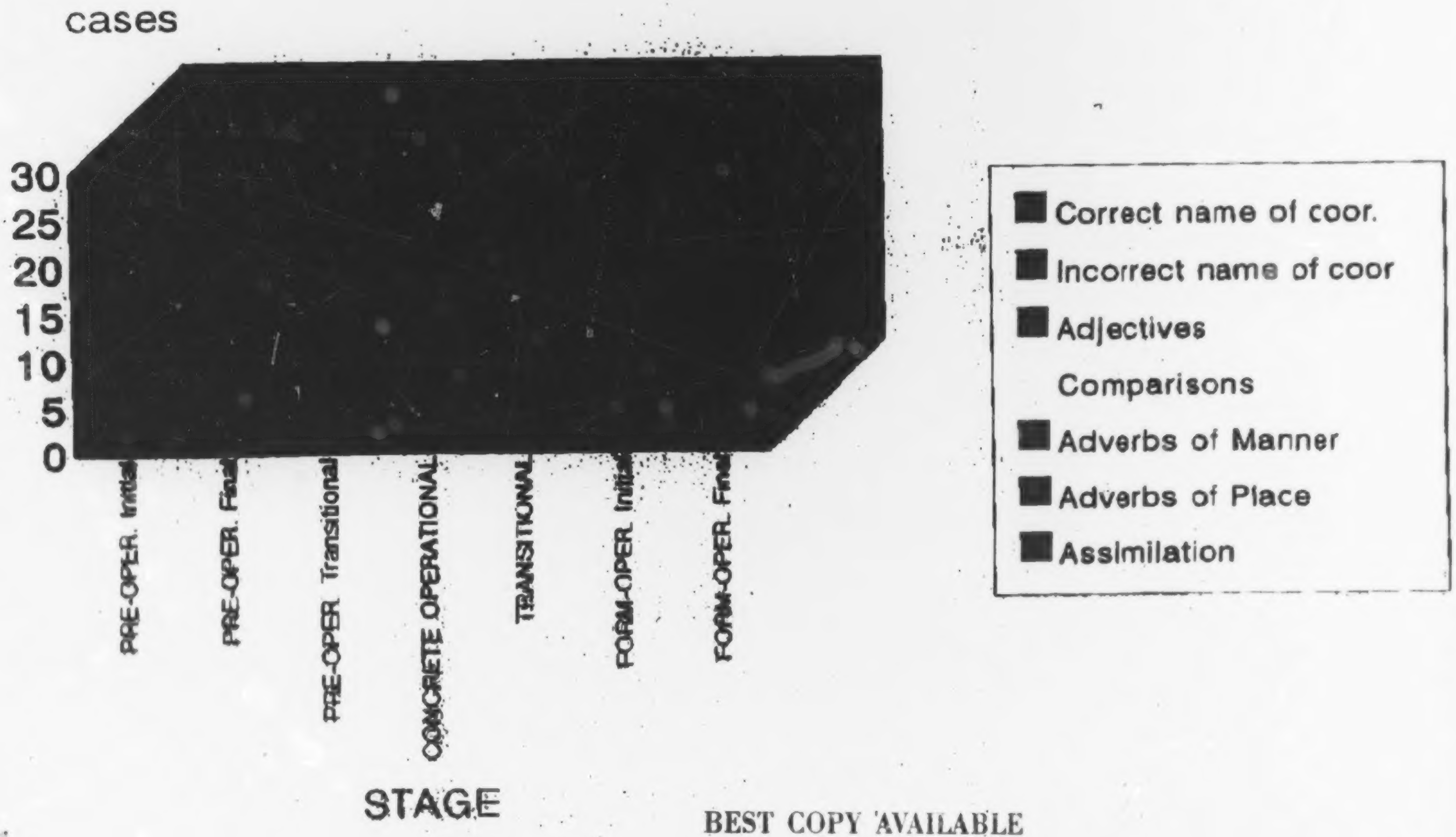
Table 1

The levels of cognitive formation of spatial coordinates

Number of subjects in each stage

PERIODS	AGE 5	5;6	6	6;6	7	8	9	10	11	12	TOTAL
Pre-operational											
Initial stage	2	1									3
Final stage	5	5	3		2	3			2		20
Transitional level	1		1	2				1		1	6
Concrete operational	4	2	2	2	1	1		1		1	14
Transitional		4	6	7	11	7	9	3	11	10	68
Formal operational											
Initial stage				1	2	6	5	5	2	1	22
Final stage							2	6	1	3	12
TOTAL	12	12	12	12	16	17	16	16	16	16	145

The connection between verbalization and the level of cognitive development according to Piaget



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DEVELOPMENT OF COMPETITIVE BEHAVIOR IN RELATION TO HIGH ABILITY AND HOME ENVIRONMENT

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Hungary

INTRODUCTION

In a previous study (Fülöp, 1993) carried out with 12 years old talented children it was found that significantly more children take great pleasure in competition than tell against it, in other words talented children are rather competitive in their characters. At this age gender differences were striking. Among those who had negative attitudes there were more girls than boys. Winning was important rather for boys. In case of winning there were no significant differences between the emotional reactions of boys and girls, but in case of losing girls expressed their negative emotions against their rival more freely than boys, who kept their anger, envy etc. inside and were socialized to congratulate the winner and to lose gracefully.

In a next stage of our research our purpose was more general, namely to reveal some factors which may influence and modify the development of competitive behavior among children.

OBJECTIVES

As there have been no systematic researches about the relationship between the parents' competitive attitudes and their children's competitive attitudes, our main interest in the present study was focused on this connection (Figure 1), especially how children perceive themselves and their parents and how parents perceive themselves and their children in this respect, what kind of similarities and differences there are in their views. As we had already had results about the competitive attitudes of the gifted children, and as we wanted to have a relatively homogeneous sample to get presumably clear results about the correlation between the parents' and children's competitive attitudes we decided to return to the field of high ability.

SUBJECTS

The research was carried out with 24 fifth and sixth grade children (16 girls and 9 boys) who were the members of a so called Extra Extension Group (EEG) at the University's Training School, Budapest. The members of this group were selected upon the results of several tests (school tests: mathematics, Hungarian grammar and literature, Raven and Wartegg) and interviews with teachers. The program of the group provided a special Thinking Skill Training for the highly abled children.

METHOD

The children and also their parents filled in an open-ended questionnaire about four different aspects of competitive behavior:

I. Preference for competitive activities in general and the emotional involvement in competitive activities.

II. The role of social comparison (Festinger, 1954) as a necessary component of competitive processes and relationships.

III. The significance and intensity of sibling rivalry within the family.

IV. The question of winning and losing as possible outcomes of competition.

There were questions in which parents were observers and children actors, and vice versa. E.g:

1a. Do you think that your child is competitive in his character? If yes, what are the main features of it? (Question for the parent, parent as observer)

1b. Do you like to compete? If yes why, if not why not? (Parallel question for the child, child as actor)

10a. Do you like to compete? If yes why, if not why not? Do you think that competition is an important behavior in present day Hungary? (Question for the parent, parent as actor)

10b. Do you think that your parents like to compete or not? What are the main signs of it? (question for the child, child as observer).

RESULTS

We analysed the answers of the parents' and children's questionnaires separately (being highly competitive, moderately competitive and not competitive) and we also compared the different variables according the actor-observer differences and concordances (t-test and correlation coefficient).

I. Involvement in competitive activities

In accordance with the former study of gifted children (Fülöp, 1992) there were also significantly more children ($p < .001$) in this sample who said they frequently competed and loved competition. Some of the reasons they enumerated were: the joy of outdoing, overcoming others, love of the chance of winning, the challenge and excitement accompanying competition etc.

There were only few (altogether 5) who told against competition. In the background of their negative attitude there was the fear, or the belief or the experience of losing. All of them but one were highly abled underachievers.

In our previous study boys and girls differed significantly in their explicit attitudes towards competition having more girls than boys among those who reported rather to avoid competition. In this sample there were no meaningful gender differences. This result can be explained by the fact, that the children taking part in this study were almost 2 years younger (mean age: 10,9) than those in the preceding one, (mean age: 12,6). This has a developmental importance especially in case of girls as according to our former results the "fear of success" syndrome (M. Horney, 1972) - claiming that women deny their competitive strives or at least less likely to acknowledge their competitive wishes because they are fearful being perceived aggressive and unfeminine - begins to function as early as entering puberty but it seems not to be present still at 10- and 11-year old girls. Being in contrast with the older ones, these younger girls estimated themselves to be just as competitive as boys.

Competitiveness as a personality trait seems to be well recognizable for parents and children as well. Parents' perception about their children correlated significantly with the children's statements about themselves ($p < .01$) and vice versa the impressions children had about their parents in terms of competition was in significant correlation (p < .001) with the importance parents attached to competition in their own life. Most of the parents were successful, highly educated, ambitious people among whom there were significantly more who had rather positive attitude towards competition. There was also significant correlation (p < .01) between the parents' competitiveness and the child's competitiveness meaning that the more competitive the parents told themselves the more competition seeker the child was. Parents almost unanimously stressed the importance of competition, individualism, and winning in present day Hungary and they emphasized that they wished their children to be successful competitors within the limits of fair play.

This calls the attention to the role of observational learning and identification in the socialization of competitiveness. Children watch and experience their parents´ behaviour in competitive situations, how they react to competitive situations and how they behave in them and according to the results they identify with them and imitate them. The general competitive atmosphere of a family can have a decisive impact on the children's developing competitive strategies.

In the light of these results we can say that parental attitudes towards competition in the case of these talented children are presumably related to child rearing practices, which in turn may have developmental outcomes in the child. The ars poetic of these parents can be expressed by an ancient Greek philosopher's Aristotele´s remark written in his Ethics of Eudemos: "Winners are crowned with a wreath, not those who have the ability, but still do not win:"

II: Processes of Social Comparison

Competition can be conceived as a process of social comparison or to put it in an other way, social comparison is an essential component of competition. Festinger (1954) pointed out that people compare themselves with others in order to evaluate their opinion and abilities. He emphasized it is inevitable necessity in attaining accurate self-evaluation. He also postulated the existence of an unidirectional drive upward, that motivates one to be slightly better than others. As this drive is universal if everybody wants to be just a little bit better than the other it evokes and maintains a dynamic process, that is called competition.

At this field there were no significant correlation between parents' and children's reports. In some cases the child named and characterized those children (e.g. other good achievers in the class) he had chosen for comparison (the comparison others) and underlined the importance of social comparison as a possibility to get a clearer picture about his own abilities, but the respective parent did not have any impression or information about it. The child kept this kind of inner work deep inside. In other cases the child denied the existence of anyone who could have been interesting from a comparative aspect and the parent was the one who told about classmates, friends, nephews and nieces to whom his child percieveably compares himself or herself. As questions were more general in the first part of the questionnaire it was easier to express competitive strives explicitly. But the question of social comparison implies concrete, identifiable persons to compare and compete with. It seems to be difficult for already children of this age to acknowledge in a questionnaire or even within family circles openly that they compare themselves to e.g. their friends which may involve the wish to be a little bit better than them or to overcome them. As this idea may evoke guilty feelings it is easier not to face it intrapsychically and interpersonally.

On the other hand, parents have subtle ways to strengthen and reinforce the motivation for comparison and to transfer the message of competition. According to children's reports parents are interested in their child's achievement not only in itself but in relation to their peers or classmates, they want to know their child's position in the rank order of school marks in every semester etc. They facilitate upward or similar comparisons and even in case of failure when the usual strategy to preserve self-esteem is downward comparison (comparison with a target who is worse off on at least one dimension) they point out the relevance of comparing to those who have higher abilities as a process of self-improvement rather than self-enhancement. A typical conversation quoted by a child was: Child:" I have got 3 but most of the children have got even worse, there were altogether fifteen 1s." Parent: "I do not, care with 1s. Do not compare yourself to the worse. How many pupil has got 5 or 4?" (In Hungary children get school marks from the 2nd grade. The best mark is 5, the worse is 1.) Parents try to prevent their children not only from downward comparison but some of them even attempts to control the child's friends excluding those who do not have good intellectual abilities. We conceive it to be important for our son not make friends with "stupid" boys. Fortunately he cannot stand intellectual discrepancies" - wrote one parent. One child answered to the question asking about whether the parents compare he and his achievement to others the following: "My parents' main dream is that once I will have outstanding results compared to others."

III. Sibling Rivalry

In the first two parts of the questionnaire we were interested in parents' and children's competitive behavior outside the family. However, sibling rivalry is the most common competitive phenomenon within the family structure. (This time we do not speak about the other universal competitive process going on between the child and the same sex parent, called Oidipal-conflict). In the so called middle childhood, which preceeds puberty, although peer groups are also important for them as contexts for practicing different social skills, like competing, children are still deeply involved in family life. As children move through middle childhood, they come increasingly to inhabit two different worlds, the inside world of family and home and the outside world of friends and school.

In our sample 75% of the children had siblings. The third part of the questionnaire asked about sibling rivalry. As we were gradually approaching - starting form the outside world - the intimate relationships of family life, the denial of competition was more and more intensive. Competitive parents with competitive children told significantly ($p < .001$) different answers from every other answers of them to the questions of potential rivalry among their children namely, they denied the phenomenon. This can be a derivative of a defence against sibling rivalry, mitigating its disruptive effects on family life. These parents who consider successful competition to be a very important component of social behaviour try to keep this characteristic outside the family and they would like to believe that their competitive children will block their competitive strives at home.

Although parents were not willing to admit openly sibling rivalry among their offsprings, children were much less reluctant to acknowledge their competition with their brothers and sisters. There was a significant difference ($p < .011$) between parents´ and children´s answers within this varable, most of the parents answering definitive “no” and most of the children answering definitive “yes” to the existence of this phenomenon. This discrepancy seemed not to be existing in those families where the child told against competition as in these cases there was a general negative attitude against competition both among parents and the child and this was true also for the problem of sibling rivalry but the sample being too small this was statistically not confirmative.

IV. Winning and Losing

According to developmental psychologists the importance of competition increases towards the end of middle childhood (Staub, 1975). In school and in play, children learn that it’s good to be the best. Winning is fun. Competitive games give them arenas in which to assert and confirm their developing sense of self, and getting good marks in school gives them status and approval. Anyhow children are different in the significance they attribute to the result of competition, either winning or losing. Considering our results, they showed, just like our former ones, that winning is important for significantly more ($p < .01$) children. Some of the children laid emphasis on taking part in a competition rather than winning it, whereas others characterized themselves to be much more afraid of failure than feeling satisfaction after winning. Comparing children’s self-reports and the parents’ impressions there was no statistically recognizable correlation between them. The findings were especially contradictory in connection with losing. One possible explanation for this can be found in the children’s questionnaires. In the course of socialization children learn to hide their disappointment, sadness, bad mood, anger etc. felt after losing and they are taught to show publicly only their joy over the others’ success. When parents answered that their child did not care too much with losing, the child honestly revealed that he tried not to show his negative emotions. On the other hand, there were instances where the child rejected to have any special feelings after a competitive failure and it was the parents who told about their observations according to which the child had quite a bad period of time after such an event. Most of the children hate losing but they emphasize that they are not destroyed by a failure, they can survive it. At most of them ($p < .01$) immediate emotional reactions are followed by the cognitive working through of the competitive failure. This is the phase that has crucial importance in moving forwards and in maintaining a competitive character. According to the reactions to competitive failures three possible types of behaviour have been differentiated (Sheehy 1982; Fülöp 1992), namely pathfinders, perseverative nonpathfinders and nonpathfinders who give up competition. Pathfinders are able to use their failures to grow. They view their losses as learning experience and when they occur they identify the problems, remedy the dificiences, and reset their goals. Perseveratives are disappointed by their performance but determined to achieve the initial goal. However, they do not analyze their failure, do not change strategy, so they risk to commit the same faults. Those who give up attempt to withdraw from any kind of competition. In accordance with our former research there were significantly more pathfinders ($p < .001$) in this sample than nonpathfinders but we could not find any gender differences even in this respect.

SUMMARY

In accordance with our expectation talented children proved to be competition seeker and pathfinder and behind their competitiveness there was a competitive family background. As the questions got closer to concrete rivals parents had a more obscure picture about their child's competitive characteristics. Parents denied the existence of sibling rivalry i.e. rivalry within the family, whereas children reported to compete with their brothers and sisters intensively. In contrast with former studies carried out with somewhat older children we have not found any tendency for gender differences which can point to prepuberty as a transitive period of gender related competitive behaviors.

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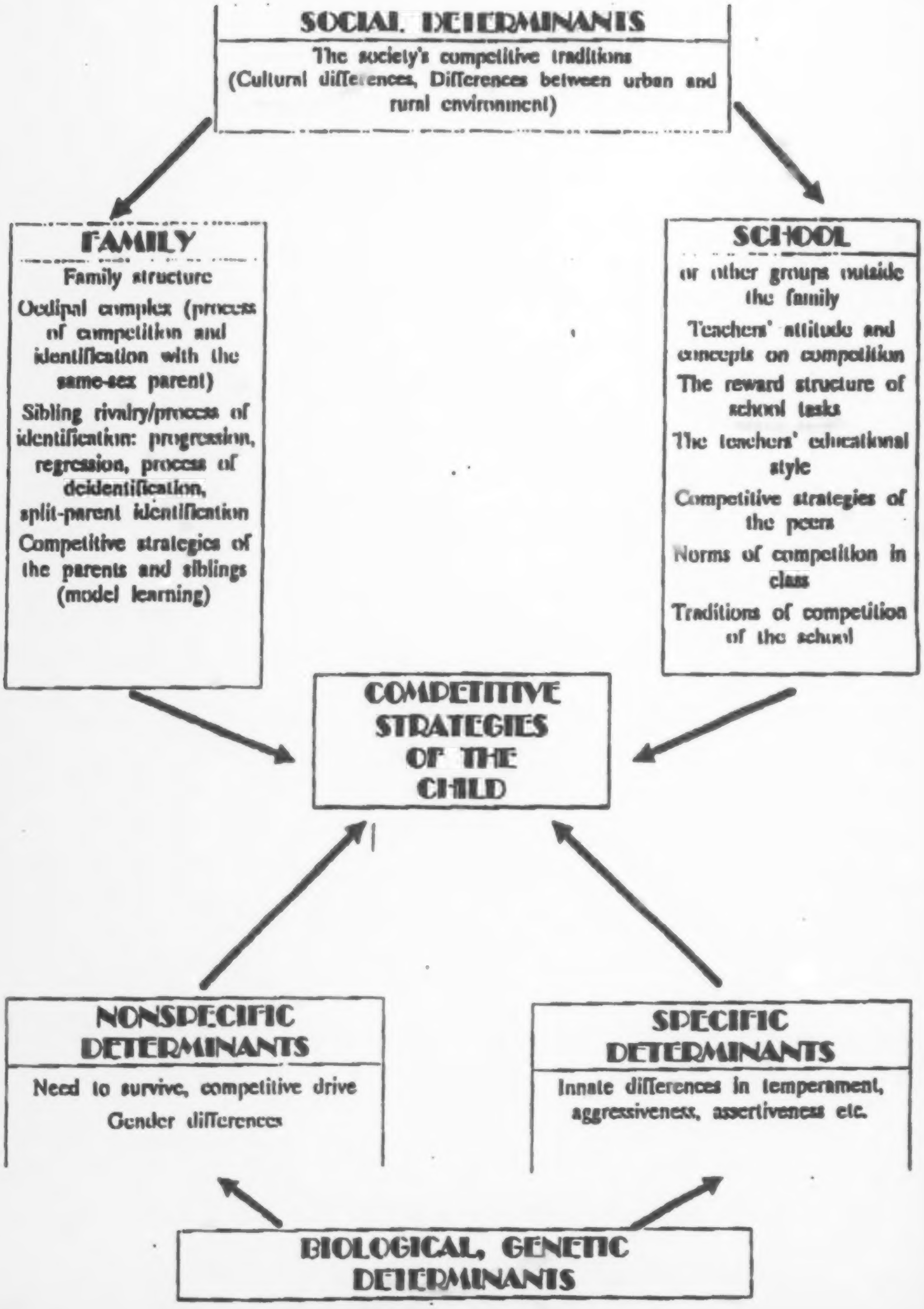
Figure 1.


SOCIAL DETERMINANTS
The society's competitive traditions
(Cultural differences, Differences between urban and rural environment)
FAMILY
Family structure
Oedipal complex (process of competition and identification with the same-sex parent)
Sibling rivalry/process of identification: progression, regression, process of deidentification, split-parent identification
Competitive strategies of the parents and siblings (model learning)
SCHOOL
or other groups outside the family
Teachers' attitude and concepts on competition
The reward structure of school tasks
The teachers' educational style
Competitive strategies of the peers
Norms of competition in class
Traditions of competition of the school
COMPETITIVE STRATEGIES OF THE CHILD
NONSPECIFIC DETERMINANTS
Need to survive, competitive drive
Gender differences
SPECIFIC DETERMINANTS
Innate differences in temperament, aggressiveness, assertiveness etc.
BIOLOGICAL, GENETIC DETERMINANTS

CULTURE - MEDIATING ROLE OF THE FAMILIES OF HIGHLY ABLE CHILDREN

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All literature data agree that the effect of the family home is decisive in the development of high ability, almost irrespectively of whether or not the role of heredity is considered important (Albert, Howe, Freeman, Landau, Davis-Rimm, etc.). The hot house effect, the conscious parental efforts, all kinds of supportive-developing environment, the giving of identification models, the implicite-explicite mediation of values and attitudes can all play a role in the development of potentials. Here I put into brackets a very important problem, namely that serious consequences may arise when the emotional side becomes underdeveloped in cases of unilaterally intellectual, achievement-oriented environments - I will return to this issue below in the context of both well-balanced and disharmonic personalities given as examples.

Since high ability is a rather multifaceted phenomenon, either as to its forms of manifestation, development, maturation, harmonic or disharmonic nature, examples can be found for everything and so for the opposite of everything. Even case reports aimed to support the theory of the exclusive nature of environmental effects (Howe,1990) allow for opposite consequences (i.e. the decisive role of heredity) if the same issue is approached from a different viewpoint. For example, it is right that Norbert Wiener was consciously developed by his father, who determined all detail of his education, and this is how he became a world famous scientist. (It is to be noted that his kid brother had not become a scientist under the same educational conditions.) Nevertheless one may wonder who jumped higher, who was the genius - the father who immigrated to America as a 18-year-old Russian Jew with 50 cents in his pocket, and in the childhood of his son became a more than ten-languaged philology professor at the Harvard University, and published papers as a non-professional mathematician as well, or the hereditarily gifted son who was born into optimal conditions. We may cite an other example as well: in an interview book with the Polgar family) the father argues for the omnipotence of education, though, as it turns out, he was very deliberate when choosing chess as a very narrow and thereby well controllable field. At the same time the mother says there is one genius in the family, and it is her husband.

It seems to appear that, under favourable conditions, brilliant parents are able to develop the abilities of their own children (presumably of excellent genetic background) maximally (according to the pyramid model). This mode of effect may also work at very different levels. Very few are the parents who focus all their lives (and that of the whole family) to make a genius of their child, and, of course, only the successful cases are known to us. More frequent is the case when the effects have their consequences not in so directly, but in a more indirect, more sophisticated, sometimes contradictory way, changing with advancing life phases.

Writers, who - we can quietly confess - sometimes know more of the human mind than psychologists, often report on the complexity of familial effects, on the ramification of identifications, counter-identifications, revolts and escapes, on the comprehensive possibility of appearance of a particular feature within a family. I may cite lines from the novel of Roger Martin du Gard, "The Thibault Family", when in this three generation family story he knowingly formulates the problem. The elder son, the successful physician, wonders at the peculiar obstinacy of the little kid of his younger brother who died as a revolutionist: "This is the Thibault-energy - Antoine thought with satisfaction. - prestige, thirst for power in my father... wildness, rebellion in Jacques... Stubbornness in me... And now? How will the force dwelling in the kid's blood shape up?" (II p. 1789)

In his "Buddenbrock House", Thomas Mann illustratively depicts the multi-generational similarities and differences which, however, are all moving within the framework of the same value system, and family members, both the conscious carriers of traditions and the deviant ones, record the important events of their lives in the family Bible.

I close the literary examples by an imposing train of thought from Stephan Zweig´s "Chaos of Emotions", where the philologist professor protests against ambitions alleged to him in his studenthood. "Your memories are wrong, dear Counsellor! I was a teacher´s child in a North-German little town, and, knowing educatedness as a money-making job in my home, I hated all kinds of philology from my earliest childhood: NATURE - SO AS TO SPARE OUR CREATIVE FORCES FOR HER MYSTERIOUS PLANS - EQUIPS THE CHILD WITH SPIKES AND AVERSIONS AGAINST PATERNAL INFLUENCES. It transfers the heritage of one generation to the other not along a calm, cosy way, it never aims at simple continuity, but first creates conflicts even between those from the same kind, and allows the young to turn onto the path of their ancestors only after tiresome, but fruitful roundabout ways." (S. Zweig, p.228).

So we have to know that, when examining the modes of value mediation, the environmental effects, we have to go down to the level of mircoevents, to the level of micromechanisms, otherwise all what we get will only be common places (such as "high ability is connected with the educational level of the parents and with the supporting behaviour of the family", and so on.). Immersing into individual cases, employing the lessons from literature and cultural historical cases shows something from this sophisticated system of effects. That is why we prefer tests based (also) on individual case analyses when examining the development and environmental conditions of high ability.

In his starting study, Joan Freeman (Gulbenkian study, 1979) tested children and their families who joined the National Association of Gifted Children, with corresponding control groups (according to intelligence and socio-cultural situation, with children attending the same school). Her question applied first of all to the role of the parents, which dramatically determines the development of children. "I wanted to know why some children were seen by their parents as gifted, whereas others, who were equally able, were not" (p.9). In her follow-up study 10 years later 1991), she had the interviews in the homes of the children and the parents, and in her case analyses she emphasized the highly informative nature of this intimate experience. She accurately clarified that even the grandparental effects were recognisable in the grandchildren (p.12). She underlines the following environmental effects as the most important ones:

- The mothers, though their school education was similar to that of the control group, worked in higher positions, but at the same time were unsatisfied with their education, with the level they achieved, and so with the school of their children;

- They offered better financial and material conditions of learning (similar socio-cultural situation). "Though the schools did sometimes initiate interest, they were not usually successful in bringing standards of work up to an outstandingly high level without the parent´s cooperation and provision. The roots of children´s proficiency in almost every respect normally begin long before they start school." (p. 15)

- Parental involvement with their children. This included the way parents behaved, the example they set, and the cultural milieu they provided. In simple terms it was not a very effective move for a parent to say to a child, "Here is a book about flowers, go out and identify some!" What was effective, when the parent said, "Let' s use this book to find out the names of flowers - together. " (p.16). (This process reflects a more general relationship: the socialization process will be effective only through personal relationships. A psychological commonplace is that the child will not learn to play alone in his room crowded with toys. The difference perhaps lies in the more emphasized mediation of knowledge as a value.)

Howe (1990, p.99) sees the role of family effects to realize along two important ways: "first, families help their children to gain essential knowledge, skills, and mental strategies. He cites Laszlo Polgar (who educated his three daughters to chess champions), who says: "the Jewish religion prescribes for parents to teach their children from an early age."

Secondly family members transmit to a child their own values and their attitudes towards those kinds of achievements that depend upon learning and practice.

Combined effects of parental expectations and encouragement, the presence of scholar role models, and parents eagerness to ensure that a child not only has opportunities to learn but also devotes considerable amounts of time to study, can create an emotional and intellectual atmosphere in which it seems difficult not to succeed (p.101).

This mode of action is well illustrated - so as not to cite the examples of Howe - by the memories of the Hungarian orientalist of Jewish origin, Ignac Goldziher, the honorary professor of several universities (Aberdeen, Heidelberg). He writes on his childhood that his father himself, who was a grocer in a rural community, spent a great deal of time on learning the Talmud. He dealt with him regularly, intensively during their evening walks, brought home books from all of his trips (which were clasped to bosom by the child in his dream). The father hired private teachers for his son, and sought for new ones if they were not found to be good enough. Goldziher mentions that his father woke him up early to start learning: "Between 4 and 5 in the morning, my father came to my room to wake me up. In wintertime the old, sick man heated the learning room himself, and had made the tea or the coffee for me." (p.26). Emphasizing this moment well indicates the emotionality of the value mediation, that the child experienced that his studies had been placed before his own elementary comfort by his father, not even forgetting the symbolics of giving food and the warm room. His father offered him the intellectually stimulating environment as well: "my father took care that I should contact only mature people, and connections of this kind offered me opportunity for such new discussions which are rarely given for children of 10 to 14 years of age." (p.27) We have to mention that Goldziher, while ranged among the greatest in his own professional field, was an insociable and unhappy person - and the origins of this are involuntarily clarified by the first sentence he wrote on himself: "my childhood years were otherwise poor in joys, but rich in edifying memories." (p.2l). So the unilateral, morally based intellectual development, which was associated with almost complete isolation from the peers, though enabled him for outstanding performances, but he had to pay bitterly for it.

Davis-Rimm (1985) attributes an outstanding role to familial values and their proper mediation in the development of the child. "Clear and consistent messages agreed upon by both parents and transmitted to the child, are basic. For example, parental agreement on such underlying values as (1) the importance of study, learning and school, 2) respect on individuality, (3) recognition on the need for reasonable amounts of recreation and fun seem to underlie a positive and achievement-oriented atmosphere." (p.358). He specially underlines the harmfulness of double and half-truth messages, and the situation when various members of the family, especially the father and the mother, relate differently to the performance of the child, regard other things important, and thus, explicitly or implicitly, mediate contradictory values at the same time. Among the causes of underachievement, he considers these disturbances of value mediation as the most important ones.

Speaking of parental responsibility, Erika Landau (1990) argues that the exaggerate ambitiousness of the child (which may hinder the development of his creativity) has the underlying cause that the child introjects the over-ambitiousness of the parents. If success is the only measurement of values, the whole personality of the child may undergo deformation (p.80).

Albert (1983) analyses the modes of familial effects on the development of high ability, and states that "the transformation of early giftedness into adult eminence is one of the most enthralling and secretive processes of human development, which is overdeterminated depending upon the push and pull of many persons, motives, values and facilitation experiences, most of which occur unexpectedly " (p.141).

Summarizing the results of earlier research, he says: "many eminence-producing families themselves differ significantly from surrounding families. Usually they are highly stimulating for the child, singularly value-oriented, with a continuous sense for postsocial emphases and priorities not only evident in the family for several generations, but quite evident in the treatment of their children. These emphases help to define members interfamilial commitments and the family´s relationships to wider culture. These are families rarely unaware of both the opportunities possible to their members or the possible family member(s) who might be best suited to these opportunities" (p.142). He distinguishes the s.c. competent and creative ability, underlying that harmonic development and the unambiguously supportive family is more characteristic to the first group (whose field is mostly the natural sciences), while the developmental route of creative people (their field is rather social sciences, arts, literature) is more disharmonic, and the role of the family is not so unambiguously positive, either (strikingly frequent is the loss of some significant member of the family).

We may think of the trauma residue theory of the analytical ego psychology (Kris). Let me cite here an other literature quotation from a great Hungarian poetwriter, Dezso Kosztolanyi: "I was always really interested only in one thing, in death. And in nothing else. I have been a man since I saw my grandfather died at my age of nine. I saw him dead, the man whom I loved perhaps most of all. And I have been a poet, an artist, a thinker ever since. The immense difference that lies between the live and the dead, the silence of death had me understood that I have to do something. I started to write poems." (Diary, 1933-34, p.36.) These memories are from the artist approaching to his fifties. A challenging question - and this warns the psychologist to be modest - what he would or could say of this experience if interviewed at the age of nine of fourteen.

Let s return to Albert´s summary of the familial modes of effect: "Along with this general assumption five specific assumptions regarding the family are proposed:

1. The family is intergenerational, important, extensive, (often special) interactions go on between persons of two and more generations.

2. It is transactional, information (often special) is exchanged between family members, ... different combinations of family members have distinctive patterns of understanding and interactions.

3. The family is, along with being a cultural and psychological unit, a historical one. Not only do family members usually have a keen sense of their own linkage to past members and early, key family experiences, but a person´s family position places him in a distinct relationship to these values, resources, memories.

4. Socialization and identification processes are the same processes, viewed respectively from the perspective of teacher and learner.

5. The family s historical orientation and ongoing socialization are selectively focused upon its children according to what differences, degrees of talents and uniquenesses are perceived to be. Thus, a child´s family position and capacities interact as organizers in family interaction. (pp.142-143)

My earlier experiences well agree with these definitions. When I did katamnestic examination of young persons who were regarded as highly abled in career selection counselling and became successful 10 years later, it was striking that, remembering the role of the parental house, how often the emerging episodes included memories of events when the parents helped the child through some actual - sometimes quite tiny - difficulty in a way that they also showed an identificatory example for the handling of such difficulties.

Judy recalls her memories from the age of seven, when she could not straightly cut a paper even for several trials. Then her father showed her how to support the scissors. "It was a fantastic experience that problems can be solved so simply!" She used to spend each summer at her grandmother, who was an uneducated peasant woman, but was very a diligent, skillful person, open to everything new. The little girl attached to her more than to her mother, at least she revived it so retrospectively. Just sitting and smoking his pipe, the grandfather was told about: "as if he would not belong to our family".

John, who is a successful engineer and plays the violin in a non-professional orchestra, recalls that he wanted to stop learning the violin at the age of nine. He himself did not know why, he just did not feel like it. Both of his parents (non-musicians) went with him to the violin lesson, and listened and watched him in silence. They noticed a tiny technical problem, related to his positioning the hand incorrectly, which was unrecognized by the teacher until then. Solving this problem, John was again willing to play the violin, and this became an important source of pleasure in his later years.

Anne, who spoke four languages and wanted to become an electric engineer at the age of 17 said that how in her childhood the help and support to the language learning of the three children were distributed among the grandparents, who openly admitted who was the respective kindest child for them each. When - because of Anne´ s headaches - it emerged that she should give up something from her comprehensive activities, the whole big family sat together to find the optimal solution for the problem.

In these three - and in many other similar cases - the common feature is that the parents can really pay attention to the achievement-related problem of their child, and they take the time and the effort to find the solution for it. They not only Just say - as it is the case in most families - that "learn my son", but with their concern and effort they mediate that the performance of the child, the fact that he can do well the given task, is a real value for them. It is obviously not by chance that these memories are almost unexceptionally originated from the latency period, which is described by the Eriksonian terminology as the age of "I am what I can manage to operate", the age of developing competence. A further common feature in these families - besides the very different levels of education - is the value of good quality performance, diligence, persistence and path-finding, which is mediated both by the almost illiteral and the highly educated physician grandmothers, respectively.

After this lengthy introduction, now I turn to the results and consequences of our present study, well agreeing with those mentioned above.

When in our longitudinal study aiming at high ability identification we selected 118 children for individual follow-up from a total of 1033 9-year-old Budapest pupils on the base of intelligence and creativity tests (Raven, Utis-Lenon, Torrance) and a teachers assessment scale, we knew well that close attention is to be paid to the family background supporting the development of potential high ability. Now the children are 15 years old. At the age of 12, among others the Adult Wechsler Scale, the Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Scale (Crandall- Katkowsky), the Level of Aspiration and the Rorschach test, and at the age of 14, the Advanced Raven, the California Personality Inventory were taken with them, in both cases associated with structured interviews. The interviews included parental expectations as well as questions concerning the mode of life and values of the parents, the role of the grandparents and other significant members of the family. Some parents were also interviewed, the taking and processing of this material is still in process. Regrettably, in the lack of financial and personal capacities, we were not able to perform studies in the children´s homes, as was done in the Joan Freeman study.

To describe the whole system, tools and results of the study would be far beyond the time limit available for me, and I am afraid the data most relevant to our study would be lost. So instead, I would demonstrate a few cases where the mechanism of familial value mediation can be well grasped. Our intention was to select children and families of different types, so as to illustrate the comprehensive nature of value mediating mechanisms, identification processes by the randomly selected data and results. In these cases also the parent interviews were good help for us, since in this age (12-14 years) the ability of introspection is generally low, especially in the boys.

1. GABRIEL wrote the followings at his age of 9, under the title "20 years later": "I also graduated from 4 universities, as my father did. I am an architecture-engineer. I make ten thousand forints a month. I have a silver-coloured Mercedes. have six sons, Akos, Zoltan, Gabor, Laszlo, Attila and Janos. I am 29 years old, 210 cm high and my weight is 79 kg. My two dogs are Buksi and Szolo.

It is a rather ambitious plan, either as to the body height, the number of sons, the material situation or the prestige achieved is seen. The fantasy starts from identification (as my father...), then he fairly overruns the model.

Gabor's IQ was 151 at the age of 12, and was well balanced (VQ 144, PQ 148). At the age of 14, he achieved maximal result in the normal Raven, and nearly maximal in the Advanced Raven. He was an excellent pupil in an English faculty class, and on the base of his school competitions results (maths, physics, chemistry, biology, Russian and English) he was in the position to chose from the special classes of four high quality schools for further studies. He chose the math faculty of the secondary school where his father was a pupil. He also goes to computer and chess courses, pingpong and athletics. He is left-handed. His plans as to his future career are uncertain: "something of the foreign trade..." - he says. The father is a chemical engineer, the mother is a chemist, now she is a graduate in the College of Foreign Trade. Gabor's selection exactly follows the parental model - at the age of 10 he wanted to become an engineer but with 4 graduations); at the age of 12, he feels obliged to follow the family tradition and to learn languages. He has no ideas of his future career, he would just like to go to an 8 class secondary school this school type was just about to start at that time) so that he would not have to get so bored in school. At the age of 14, the parental model had interiorized: further studies in technical-scientific direction, then a job which employs the knowledge of languages as well.

According to Gabor, it was very important for his parents that he learned well, they were happy to see his success. Gabor´s parents are first-generation intellectuals, they live together with the parental grandfather (a taylor), who is very important for Gabor: this grandfather taught him to play chess. He has one sister, who, according to the mother, is far less clever, but is a much more harmonic personality than he is. Gabor is very jealous on her. The mother describes Gabor as a hot-tempered, sensitive child with low self-confidence and with infantile features in his emotional life. Puberty has just started at the age of 14.

As the mother said, the father determines the life of the family rather from the background, it is she who manages the daily routine tasks with the children´s schooling. Gabor was fluent in writing and reading at the age of 4. In the school he was highly reputed and praised, but no special opportunities were offered to him. These special courses in maths and computer technics) were looked up for him by the mother. Gabor did not like the kindergarten or the school, but had always been very dutiful. Mentioned by the mother, an episode may throw light on the transference of this family pattern, and perhaps on the roots of Gabor´s emotionally disbalanced personality. At the age of three and a half, Gabor was standing at the fence of the kindergarten when the mother went to pick up his younger sister from the nursery. The little girls spent only half of the day there. The mother saw Gabor watching her frozen and silently, and she did not go up to him. "This was the kindergarten rule" - she says ten years later, still feeling guilt about it.

The parents, first generation intellectuals who worked hard for promoting their career, successfully transferred the value of "first is achievement and accommodation" to their very clever son. Their philosophy includes that this has a price, but this can be paid - maybe this trend will go on in Gabor's further development.

MARTIN was a problem child in all of his life. He was the second between three boys. First he developed rapidly, but at the age of 9 months or so he underwent repeated ear surgery (the mother was with him in the hospital). At the age of 4 years he again went to hospital for severe allergy, and this induced severe depression in him. He did not speak a word for months. The parents had the idea to return him to normal on the basis of "one adult - one child" - i.e. they organized many programmes with the aim that one parent be with the child at a time. So the mother accompanied him to ski trainings, where the child had developed good connections with the trainer. On the initiative of the parents, Martin started going to school one year later. He used to play with lego, was good in drawing, and was interested in cars.

Martin's school career started with a peculiar experience of failure. As a homework, he read 3 tales with hard efforts, and the teacher did not believe that he really read them, since was not good in reading in the school. From this time on, Martin was not willing to read for several years. His school performance was of weak-medium level, and was ranged among the weakest pupils by the teachers. But his IQ is 121, though very disbalanced: VQ = 95, PQ = 143. We have no explanation for this extreme difference, since Martin lives in an environment rich in cultural stimuli. (It would be interesting to take a Wechsler with other members of the family...) He is right-handed, while the father and the grandmother are left-handed. A large family lives together in the same house: the paternal grandparents, the brother of the father with his family and them five, in a very close cooperation. (At present they sit up with the sick grandmother, one after the other.) Both parents are mechanical engineers, the mother is independent for a long time, and the father for a couple of years - much earlier than it became accepted in Hungarian society. The grandmother is very intelligent, she has worked as a synchronous interpreter for the most recent times.

The family seems to have accepted Marci's peculiar demands, even that his school performance was low. If necessary, he had a private teacher, had English and German lessons, was taken to ski trainings. The parents did their best to develop one-person connections. According to his interests, Marci continued his studies in a vocational school for car mechanicians, where he "flourished" - his performance is remarkable better than in the former school, he is much more dutiful, prepares himself for the language exam, and makes artistic drawings. (See his tree drawing on which he worked for 50 minutes in the test situation it indicates problems, but also a high level of elaboration.) His mother expects him to go to college, presumably he will become an engineer.

In this family the solidarity toward each other - which includes the recognition and fulfilling of specific demands as well - and the independent achievement are the main values. The necessity of conformity - as opposed to the former family - appears only as the framework of reality. In case of problems the seeking for roundabout ways is the well-proven method. That is why they succeeded in educating a path-finder from a child - on the base of whose history it would not be a surprise to find a pathological pattern -, a well-balanced adolescent who finds pleasure in his achievement.

Our third and last case is a girl, BEA. She was among the very good ones both in the intelligence and the creativity tests at the age of 9, while she was considered as an average by her teacher, and she had only medium-level schoolmarks, accordingly. Her Wechsler IQ was 129 (at the age of 12), also extremely disbalanced: VQ = 104, PQ = 148. (This unexpected, strange difference is very frequent in our study: our suspect is the importance of hemispheral dominance, but with no solid evidence. I would be glad if you would share your related experience with me.) Bea is realistic in her self-esteem, with strong internal control, she know about herself that she is more intelligent than the average. She is strongly supported by her father in learning. When in a sport faculty school a teacher mistreated her, for her scoliosis, the parents took her into an other school. Her parents are "half-intellectuals": her father is a security guard in a hotel with college education he used to be a detective, but changed his job when was not respected high enough). The mother is a kindergarten teacher. Bea would like to deal with plants or fish, but her speculations (on environmental protection, social responsibility, social problems) indicate her to be more than the medium-level pupil who presumably will not be accepted to the secondary grammar school. She is skillful, scrupulous, is able to do everything around the house. "she is girlish, but has a kind of a boyish approach").

While in the first two cases the children themselves called the attention to themselves by their peculiar characters, in the case of Bea it was the parents - especially the father - who seemed to be specific. (They came to Budapest together, from a small village.) First of all, it turned out that they have their daughter entered to a private secondary grammar school that is all too expensive as to their financial situation, not even trying to give her into a weaker school with her modest schoolmarks. This private school promised person-oriented development of abilities and creativity. The school had verified the hopes, the girls has started to be enthusiastic, she learns better, the patronizing teachers regard her as talented, she became more open-minded and active within a couple of months. Even the parents′ own attitude seems to have changed: "it was a mistake only to demand, and not to praise".

Before all these, however, something strange had happened. Bea has a quite severe scoliosis, and the father enrolled into a mind control course, together with the whole family, with the aim to favourably influence the bodily condition of their daughter. The father became very enthusiastic, continued the training, went through some courses on natural medicine, and wants to go on with this until he obtains suitable graduation to work in ~~this~~ field. The mother wants to go to the Teacher′s College for Special Education of the Handicapped, and they feel they face a new life ahead. The father regards himself to be an outstanding talent, is supported by his wife, and both of them think their daughter is also highly abled, and will find the field of her own.

We cannot assess to what extent the father is an unrecognized talent or is a person who pathologically overestimates himself (who has turned toward a different field after the failure of his career of paranoid background). At any rate, with his responsible, competent behaviour, with his flexible efforts, with his intervening in his daughter′s life in the decisive moments, he not only offers the required support, but mediates the value of competent behaviour as well.

In these three cases there were many things in common, and there were many differences as well. The difference was remarkable in the sensitivity the parents recognized the various demands of their abled children, and how they responded to them. (Marci is not supposed to start to be a more balanced child than Gabor.) But similar was in them the competence with which they treated their children′s requirements and possibilities recognized by them. This is well reflected in all the three children in the (repeatedly measured) internal control values that are higher than the average, and which well show the interiorization of the value of responsibility for the successes and failures, as these values are manifested in the parental behaviours in our cases.

When speaking of the more difficultly evolvable creativity of girls, Erika Landau underlines that they try to include ever more girls in their courses, since their creative attitudes will influence the possibilities of the next generation for creativity. The family-mediated values of competence and creative problem solutions shows us something from the micromechanisms that promote the development of the highly abled.

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INSECURITY OF 5-6-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN AND CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

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The aim of the study

This study is part of a project called "Insecurity: causes and coping strategies". The purpose of the project is to describe and compare forms of insecurity and coping mechanisms in different age groups, the ages ranging from 5 to 85 years, in Finland. (Niemelä 1991; Lahikainen 1991.) The basic assumption of the project is that insecurity is an unavoidable aspect of human life, which can only partly be taken care of by social welfare policies. Consequently, coping with feelings of insecurity is essential for everyone's psychic well-being.

Insecurity in children five and six years is described in the present study by analyzing the incidence of different types of psychosomatic symptoms, worries and fears in different contexts. Answers were sought for the following questions. Do children feel secure in Finland? How do the different indicators of insecurity and the methods of questioning influence the answers obtained? What kind of contextual factors contribute to the feelings of insecurity and fear?

The theoretical frame of reference

Bowlby's control systems approach in his attachment theory connects fears both to the cognitive and the social-emotional development of the child. The two principal behavioral systems of the child are **attachment behavior** and **explorative behavior**. Attachment behavior is an essential part of social emotional development, whereas explorative behavior is the basis of cognitive development. Bowlby emphasizes the interconnection between these two behavioral systems (Bowlby 1978a, 198-209; 237-240).

He proposes that attachment behavior is more primary when the child is very young and his/her survival depends on the quality of the daily care received from the primary caretakers. The child's innate mechanisms for catching the caretaker's attention, such as crying, grasping, clinging and sucking, and the later learned mechanisms such as following and calling are the child's means of bonding the caretaker to the child. The ultimate goal of attachment behavior is to guarantee the survival of the child. The availability of the caretaker is thus the basis for the child's feelings of security in an as yet unknown world. (Bowlby 1979, 135-136; Bowlby 1978a, 236-250; 223-228.)

According to Bowlby, fear is a normal reaction in an unexpected surrounding (Bowlby 1978b, 110-111). It protects the child from the real dangers in unknown surroundings. Fear makes the helpless child seek protection from the caretakers, who are able to reassure the child. Positive experiences with good caretakers form the basis of trust in interpersonal relationships. It could be said that feeling afraid motivates the child to turn towards other people. Bonding with significant adults is one of the factors regulating the feelings of fear in the child (Stevenson-Hinde 1988, 70-72).

Fears normally tend to disappear or diminish with experience (Poznanski 1973; Bauer 1976). But experience also means that the picture of the world becomes broader and more complex, which also increases the child's awareness of new dangers and fears. In other words, it is difficult to determine the amount of fear or the types of fears that are normal and constructive for the child.

Explorative behavior is activated spontaneously in sufficiently safe surroundings. The child's attention will be directed away from the safety-giving caretakers to the exciting and tempting world beyond. (Bowlby 1978a, 237-239.) In explorative behavior, the amount and contents of fears are mediating factors which operate in a complicated way. Excessive fears concerning unknown surroundings may inhibit the child's explorations. There may also be innate differences between children in the degree of curiosity. If primary caretakers do not succeed in giving protection to their children, child will concentrate more on watching the caretakers' behavior instead of the surrounding. (Bowlby 1978b, 245-263.) Consequently, bad experiences with significant persons have an especially confusing effect on the child.

The sample

The sample is representative of the children in the province of Kuopio, and comprised 240 children. Fifty percent of the children come from the city of Kuopio, and the other half from two rural municipalities. Kuopio is the provincial capital with a population of about 80 000. The two rural municipalities are typical Finnish rural areas with a very low density of inhabitants.

Ninety-three percent of the children selected for the sample were interviewed, and ninety-two percent of the children's parents answered the questionnaire.

Methods

Two things were considered in the selection of research instruments. On the one hand, the data gathered from the youngest age group should be as much as possible comparable with the data gathered from all other age groups. On the other hand, the age of young subjects sets special limitations and requires the development of special research methods. To try to overcome these problems, earlier research concerning children's fears was utilized, and various methods were pre-tested with 93 children (Lahikainen et al 1991).

Data were gathered both from the children themselves and their parents. The parents' questionnaire contained questions about the life situation, the history of the family and of the child, the child's behavior (attachment behavior and exploratory behavior, using the applied Q-set technique of Waters and Deane (Waters and Deane 1985; Vaughn et al 1985), social-emotional symptoms, fears (26 items derived mainly from Ollendick's list of fears, the Revised Fear Survey Schedule for Children, FSSC-R) (Ollendick and King 1991; Ollendick et al 1989; Ollendick et al 1985) and a list of worries concerning interpersonal relationships.

The children were interviewed. This is a rarely used and difficult method when research subjects are as young as in this case (Lenz 1985a; Lenz 1985b; Bauer 1978; Dibrell and Yamamoto 1988; Andenaes 1991). The intimate nature of the interview topic was also a factor to be seriously considered. Therefore, special preliminary steps were conducted. The interviewers were specially trained over a period of two months. Training started with individual and group processing of the childhood experiences of the trainees themselves, concentrating on their early fears. Lectures were given on interview techniques and on children's behavior in general. Then, practice was given in conducting interviews. These recorded interviews were used as material for further, more individual, training.

The children's parents were first contacted by phone and they were asked to cooperate in preparing the child for the interview. The interviewers tried to arrange a preliminary visit to the child in order to establish good rapport. This arrangement was generally possible with children who attended day care institutions, while most of the children who were cared for at home, and especially if they lived in isolated areas in the countryside, were seen only once. However, the interviewers were also advised to take time to establish rapport, for example by playing and talking informally with the child before starting the interview.

The interview consisted of open questions about several topics and a projective picture test. The open questions dealt with fears, worries, nightmares and significant people. In the projective test, eight pictures of fear-provoking situations were presented with a short explanatory story. The children were asked to tell how much the child in the picture was afraid and

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what he/she might do in this situation. The interviews were recorded and later transcribed. The interviews lasted about one hour, and the printed material collected per child consisted of 4-8 typed pages.

Results

Insecurity: Prevalence of worries, fears and symptoms according to different indicators

The parents evaluated their children's worries in interpersonal relationships (Table 1), and, according to their reports, the children's most prevalent worries concern problems with peers. The children also worry about losing their loved ones and about conflicts in the family circle. It is also notable that as many as one-third of the children have worries about members of their families, concerning for example divorce, violence or alcoholism.

Table 1. Ranking order of children's worries related to other people (reported by the parents)

		worried to some extent/a lot (% of all children)
1.	other children being teased	70
2.	fights with other children	68
3.	teasing by other children	61
5.	losing a loved one	55
5.	quarrels with siblings	55
5.	quarrels with parents	55
7.	death of a loved one	54
8.	parental conflicts	53
9.	serious illness of a loved one	42
10.	violence by a loved one	35
11.	divorce of one's parents	30
12.	alcoholism of a loved one	23

Table 2. Ranking order of fears (reported by the parents)

		afraid to some extent/a lot (% of all children)
1.	getting lost in a strange place	86
2.	snakes, bees etc.	82
3.	mystery movies	81
4,5.	being teased	73
4,5.	burglars breaking into the house	73
6,5.	ghosts or spooky things	71
6,5.	fire	71
8.	thunderstorms	68
9,5.	nightmares	66
9,5.	death	66
11,5.	going to bed in the dark	63
11,5.	having to go to the hospital	63
13.	being alone	61
14.	parental arguing	60
15,5.	getting punished by parents	56
15,5.	being involved in a car accident	56
17.	the sight of blood	50
18.	going to the dentist/doctor	49
19.	closed spaces	46
20.	strange dogs	45
21.	high places	42
22.	doing something new	34
23.	meeting unfamiliar people	31
24.	having to eat disliked food	27
25.	being left at home with a sitter	26
26.	going to the day-care centre	12

The list of fears presented to the parents contained 26 items. If we look at the percentages of the prevalence of different fears, we notice that fear is part of the child's life. More than two-thirds of the children are afraid of getting lost, animals, mystery movies, being teased, burglars, ghosts, fire and thunderstorms. At least 50 % of the children were afraid of at least 17 different items.

The parents' evaluations of their children's psychosomatic symptoms are presented in order of prevalence in Table 3. The most common symptoms in ranking order are stomach-aches (36%), nightmares (29%), tiredness (25%), headaches and eating problems (both 23%).

Table 3.
Ranking order of psychosomatic symptoms (reported by the parents)

		experienced to some extent/a lot (% of all children)
1.	stomach-aches	36
2.	nightmares	29
3.	tiredness	25
4,5.	headaches	23
4,5.	eating problems	23
6.	sleeping problems	13
7.	bed-wetting	11
8.	apathy	9
9.	day-time wetting	8

The ranking list of fear-provoking situations (Table 4) constructed on the basis of the children's answers to the protective test shows that some fears such as going to bed in the dark and medical fears, are even more common than the parents realize. Nearly ninety percent of children are afraid of going to sleep alone in the dark or getting lost in the forest. More than sixty percent are afraid of going to the doctor and of parental criticism. Fear of teasing and of parental arguing are less common in children's own answers than in parents' reports.

Table 4. Ranking order of fears in the projective test (children's ranking)

		afraid to some extent/a lot (% of all children)
1.	going to bed in the dark	88
2.	getting lost in the forest	87
3.	getting lost surrounded by strange people	69
4.	going to the doctor	64
5.	parental criticism	62
6.	staying alone without parents	59
7.	parental arguments	38
8.	teasing by other children	33

Table 5. Ranking order of fears reported by children in answers to open questions

		afraid to some extent/a lot (total no. of mentions)
1.	familiar animals	305
2.	fears related to TV-programs	256
	-programs for adults in general	106
	-programs showing killing or shooting	57
	-programs for children (in 30 cases a particular program was mentioned)	54
	-tv programs in general	39
3.	unfamiliar animals (not living in Finland)	179
4.	nightmares	126
5.	ghosts or spooky things	59
6.	darkness	57
7.	fears related to unfamiliar adults	37
8.	being teased	35
9.	being alone (in a strange place)	32
10.	accidents (cars, aeroplanes)	31
11.	minor injuries	27
12.	fears related to the behavior of significant adults	22
13.	war, attacks, guns	18
14.	fantasies	17
15.	death	17
16.	thunderstorms	16
17.	fire	14
18.	hospital/doctor	8
19.	getting lost	7
20.	new things or situations	5
21.	losing a loved one	5

The children's discussions about their fears with the interviewer change the picture of fears derived from parents' reports. Interestingly, fears aroused by television are very common. The children have seen very many adult programs which frighten them. Some of the children are able to mention adult programs only in general, but several titles of movies or programs and particular themes in them were mentioned (films about vampires and ghosts, Alarm 911, James Bond and The Killer Shark were the most commonly mentioned). In all, 28 different adult programs were mentioned. There are frightening aspects in the children's programs too, although it is far more common for children to become frightened when watching adult programs than children's programs. The number of children's programs which may provoke fear among children is 27, almost the same as the number of adult programs mentioned.

Every fourth child is frightened by some aspect of programs showing killing and shooting either in the real world, as in news about the Bosnian war, or in the fictitious world.

More than 50 % of the children mention nightmares. This topic is enquired about and discussed in the interview, and will be analyzed thoroughly later. It is worth mentioning at this point that children's nightmares seem to derive their contents to a remarkable extent from tv programs.

It was already known from earlier research that animals are one of many children's typical objects of fears. What is suprising in the present study is the variety of the animals mentioned: 37 types living in Finland and 25 other animals were mentioned. Here also the mass media play a role in making the animal world known to children, by providing information and presenting stories about the animal world.

Contextual factors connected with insecurity

The term **context** refers to the child's living conditions as a whole. Here we are intrested in the influence of two types of contextual factors on the child's feelings of insecurity.
The first we call **complexity of surrounding**, and as an indicator of it we use rural-urban categories of the child's surrounding. The second type of contextual factors concern **the child's social interaction with significant other people**. We asked the parents if the child had had the following experiences:

- loss of a loved one (1)
- death of a loved one (2)
- serious illness of a loved one (3)
- divorce of the parents (4)
- excessive use of alcohol by a loved one (5)
- violence by a loved one (6)
- conflicts between the parents (7)
- serious conflicts with the parents (8)

- serious fights with other children (9)
- being teased by other children (10)
- fights with siblings (11)

It is well-known that the loss of a parent or the parents' divorce are harmful and distressing to the child. We have considered a broader spectrum of factors which may be distressing, in order to get a deeper understanding of the sources of children's insecurity. One basic assumption in the selection of distressing factors was that the divorce of parents is one outcome of a conflictive interaction in the family, and from the child's point of view the social interactional processes preceeding divorce, or containing risk of divorce are at least as harmful as divorce itself. As the importance of peers in the child's social development has been brought out especially in recent research (Dunn 1986; Light 1986; Frones 1989), we also enquired about distressing experiences related to the child's relationships with the peers.

In order to define the basic dimensions of insecurity, children's worries, fears and symptoms were factor analyzed separately (factor patterns are presented in Tables 8, 9, 10 and 11 in appendix). Factor scores were used as indicators of insecurity. The main dimensions of **worries** are:

1. **loss of a loved one** (the three highest loadings were on death and serious illness and loss of a loved one)
2. **conflicts between family members** (the three highest loadings were on quarrels with parents and siblings and parental conflicts)
3. **problems with peers** (the three highest loadings were on other children being teased or teasing, and fights with other children)

In the factor analyses of **psychosomatic symptoms**, four main dimensions were found:

1. **apathy** (apathy, tiredness and eating problems had the highest loadings)
2. **sleeping problems** (sleeping problems were combined with nightmares)
3. **wetting** (day-time wetting and bed-wetting were combined)

4. **aches** (included both headaches and stomach-aches)

The factor analysis of the list of fears evaluated by the parents produced 8 factors:

1. **frightened by dangers** (burglars breaking into the house, being involved in a car accident, closed spaces, getting lost in a strange place)
2. **animals, high places**
3. **ghosts and nightmares**
4. **criticism and pressure from other people** (having to eat disliked food, being teased, getting punished by parents)
5. **frightened by the new** (meeting unknown people, doing something new)
6. **medical fears** (doctor/ dentist, hospital)
7. **being alone** (correlated with fear of thunderstorms and ghosts)
8. **mystery movies and parental arguing**

We have 15 indexes of insecurity based on the parents' reports. The childrens' answers to the projective test were also factor analysed and two main dimensions of fears were formed (Table 10).

1. **frightened by the unknown** (staying alone without parents, getting lost, going to sleep in the dark, going to the doctor, being surrounded by strange people)
2. **frightened by criticism and parental arguing.**

The complexity of the surroundings was connected with three types of indexes of insecurity (Table 6):

The frightened by new things and new people was higher among children living in urban areas than among children living in rural areas. Worries about the loss of loved ones were higher among children living in the countryside than those living in urban areas. Children from rural areas show in the projective test more fear of criticism and parental arguing than do children from urban areas.

Table 6. Significant connections of complexity of surrounding and insecurity

	n	x	s	F	p
frightened by new things and new people					
urban	84	.23	1.09		
rural	77	-.26	.80	10.1	.002
worries about the loss of loved one					
urban	77	-.33	.91		
rural	84	.05	1.02	6.4	.01
frightened by criticism and parental arguing					
urban	100	-.22	.97		
rural	108	.21	1.00	9.7	.002

All these dimensions of insecurity have to do with the density of population and the different meaning of significant persons and strangers in rural and urban context.

Distressing experiences in the children's daily living contexts were reflected clearly in their degree of insecurity (Table 7). Loss of a loved one, including loss through divorce, makes the child worry about the possibility of loss in general. The experience of divorce increases both worrying about conflicts between family members and fear of criticism and stress. Loss due to other reasons increases the fear of dangers in general. Serious illness of a loved one has the same kind of impact on the child's security feelings as the loss of a loved one.

Alcoholism in a loved one is often associated with symptoms such as aches in the child and increased worrying about the loss of a loved one and of conflicts between family members. Violence by a loved one increases the child's worrying about conflicts between family members and makes the child more frightened of dangers in general. Parental conflicts very significantly increase the child's aches, fear of mystery movies and parental arguing, and worrying about conflicts between family members, and also increase fear of criticism and stress. Serious quarrels with parents increase the child's apathy and worrying about family members.

Experiences with peers, both with siblings and others, are connected with all types of indicators of insecurity, which indicates the high importance of peers for the child. Quarrels with siblings increase apathy, worrying about conflicts between family members and fear of criticism, both according to the parents' evaluation and to the children's answers in the projective test. Fights with other children increase apathy, fear of criticism, fear of mystery movies and parental arguing, fear of the unknown (in the projective test) and worrying about family members. Being teased by other children is reflected at the psychosomatic level as increased sleeping problems and aches. It also increases fear of criticism, fear of the new and worrying about problems with other children.

Conclusions

Children are very sensitive to the surrounding world. They react to the dangers and insecurities in their immediate physical and social living contexts, and to the information about the world mediated by television, by worrying and fearing to a large extent, probably more than adults tend to think. It seems that in most cases children's feelings of insecurity are normal reactions to their difficulties in their life situations and, considering their capacities, to a world which is probably too complicated for them.

In the next phase of this research, the coping mechanism the children use when afraid will be analyzed in order to understand the role of this insecurity in the development of the child. Further analysis is also needed of the interconnections between the different indicators of insecurity. Contextual factors will be specified. The quality of children's intimate social network and further factors describing their surrounding will also be analyzed in the next phase of this study.

On the basis of these results it can be said that children in Finland quite often seem to be insecure in many respects.

This is a cause for concern, and comparative data from other countries and from other studies is needed for evaluation.

This study will be replicated in Estonia in collaboration with the Pedagogic Institute of Tartu University.

APPENDIX

Table 7. Significant connections of difficult family experiences with indexes of insecurity

LOSS OF A LOVED ONE

	n	x	s	F	p
frightened by dangers					
no experience of loss	141	-.10	1.02		
experience of loss	17	.70	1.17	8.9	.003
worries about loss of a loved one					
no loss	144	-.23	.91		
loss	15	.84	1.12	18.0	.0000

DIVORCE OF ONE'S PARENTS

	n	x	s	F	p
worries about loss of a loved one					
no divorce	151	-.20	.93		
divorce	10	.95	1.14	14.0	.0003
worries about conflicts between family members					
no divorce	151	-.13	1.01		
divorce	10	.84	.95	8.7	.004
frightened by criticism and parental arguing					
no divorce	184	-.05	1.02		
divorce	18	.42	.74	3.7	.06

SERIOUS ILLNESS OF A LOVED ONE

	n	x	s	F	p
frightened by dangers					
no illness	122	-.10	1.04		
illness	35	.31	1.08	4.1	.05
worries about loss of a loved one					
no illness	123	-.26	.91		
illness	35	.31	1.02	10.2	.002

ALCOHOLISM OF A LOVED ONE

	n	x	s	F	p
aches					
no alcoholism	173	-.07	.95		
alcoholism	32	.39	1.28	5.8	.02
worries about loss of a loved one					
no alcoholism	136	-.25	.86		
alcoholism	23	.70	1.24	20.8	.0000

worries about conflicts between family members					
no alcoholism	136	-.17	1.03		
alcoholism	23	.49	.80	8.6	.004

VIOLENCE BY A LOVED ONE

	n	x	s	F	p
frightened by dangers					
no violence	149	-.07	1.02		
violence	11	.70	1.33	5.6	.02
worries about conflicts between family members					
no violence	147	-.14	.98		
violence	13	.80	1.28	10.6	.001

PARENTAL CONFLICTS

	n	x	s	F	p
aches					
no quarrels	134	-.17	.84		
quarrels	72	.33	1.22	11.9	.0007
frightened by criticism and pressure					
no quarrels	102	-.13	1.00		
quarrels	56	.28	.87	6.6	.01
frightened by mystery movies and parental arguing					
no quarrels	102	-.24	1.02		
quarrels	56	.20	.89	7.24	.008
worries about conflicts between family members					
no quarrels	106	-.32	.97		
quarrels	51	.49	.94	24.7	.0000

QUARRELS WITH PARENTS

	n	x	s	F	p
apathy					
no quarrels	186	-.08	.89		
quarrels	22	.60	1.56	9.6	.002
worries about loss of a loved one					
no quarrels	145	-.19	.95		
quarrels	15	.37	1.22	4.3	.04
worries about conflicts between family members					
no quarrels	145	-.12	1.03		
quarrels	15	.45	.95	4.1	.04

QUARRELS WITH SIBLINGS

	n	x	s	F	p
apathy					
no quarrels	55	-.28	.71		
quarrels	137	.09	1.09	5.4	.02
frightened by animals, high places					
no quarrels	38	-.28	.76		
quarrels	108	.09	1.05	4.2	.04
frightened by criticism and pressure					
no quarrels	38	-.26	.99		
quarrels	108	.12	.98	4.3	.04
worries about conflicts between family members					
no quarrels	38	-.50	1.07		
quarrels	119	.08	.99	9.4	.003

FIGHTS WITH OTHER CHILDREN

	n	x	s	F	p
apathy					
no fights	188	-.10	.95		
fights	19	.71	1.07	12.3	.0006
frightened by criticism and pressure					
no fights	142	-.06	1.00		
fights	16	.48	.74	4.4	.04
frightened by mystery movies and parental arguing					
no fights	142	-.17	.99		
fights	16	.47	.79	6.2	.01
worries about conflicts between family members					
no fights	141	-.13	1.03		
fights	17	.39	1.00	3.8	.05
worries about problems with other children					
no fights	141	-.13	1.00		
fights	17	.75	.67	11.8	.0008
frightened by the unknown					
no fights	185	-.08	1.02		
fights	20	.45	.69	5.1	.03

BEING TEASED BY OTHER CHILDREN

	n	x	s	F	p
sleeping problems					
no teasing	113	-.17	.90		
teasing	89	.18	1.10	6.1	.01
aches					
no teasing	113	-.13	.93		
teasing	89	.21	1.11	5.7	.02
frightened by criticism and pressure					
no teasing	87	-.13	1.01		
teasing	68	.18	.92	4.0	.05
frightened by the new					
no teasing	87	-.15	.89		
teasing	68	.23	1.10	5.7	.02
worries about problems with other children					
no teasing	86	-.50	1.05		
teasing	70	.54	.68	50.3	.0000

Table 8. Factor pattern of psychosomatic symptoms (reported by the parents)

	F1	F2	F3	F4
bed-wetting			.75	
day-time wetting			.81	
eating problems	.71			
headaches				.93
stomach-aches	(.42)	(.34)		.50
sleeping problems		.60		
apathy	.68			
nightmares		.84		
tiredness	.61	(.33)		
Eigenvalues	2.0	1.4	1.1	1.0

Cum procent of variance 61% in three factor solutions.

F1:Apathy
F2:Sleeping problems
F3:Wetting
F4:Aches

Table 9. Factor pattern of children's worries related to other people (reported by the parents)

	F1	F2	F3
fights with other children		(.32)	.72
being teased by other children			.79
other children being teased			.81
losing a loved one	.71		
alcoholism of a loved one	.63		
serious illness of a loved one	.82		
death of a loved one	.83		
parental conflicts	(.40)	.67	
divorce of one's parents	.63	(.45)	
violence by a loved one	.66	(.56)	
quarrels with parents	(.32)	.78	
quarrels with siblings		.68	
Eigenvalues	5.1	1.5	1.2

Cum procent of variance 65% in three factor solutions.

F1:Loss of a loved one
F2:Conflicts between family members
F3:Problems with peers

Table 10.
Factor pattern of fears (reported by the children)

	F1	F2
1. staying alone without parents	.64	
2. getting lost in the forest	.63	
3. going to the doctor	.59	
4. going to sleep alone in the dark	.58	
5. getting lost surrounded by strangers	.54	
6. teasing		.76
7. parental arguing		.72
8. parental criticism		.61
Eigenvalues	2.4	1.1

Cum procent of variance 44% in two factor solutions.

F1:Frightened by the unknown
F2:Frightened by criticism and parental arguing

Table 11. Factor pattern of fears (reported by the parents)

	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8
being teased				.62				
parents arguing	(.30)			(.43)				.55
meeting unfamiliar people					.72			
going to day-care				.43	.43			
getting punished by parents				.53				
ghosts or spooky things			.80					
being left at home with a sitter					.46		.46	
having to eat disliked food				.71				
death	.45							
thunderstorm		(.38)					.54	
going to bed in the dark			.70					
nightmares			.69					
being alone	(.36)						.66	
mystery movies			(.33)					.63
getting lost in a strange place	.53						(.31)	
burglars breaking into the house	.76							
closed places	.64							
snakes, bees etc.		.50						
being met with a car accident	.72							
strange dogs		.71						
the sight of blood		.57						
fire-getting burned	(.46)	.51						
high places		.58						
having to go to the hospital						.77		
going to the dentist/doctor					(.31)	.79		
doing something new					.65	(.32)		
Eigenvalues	5.6	1.9	1.6	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.1

Cum procent of variance 59%

F1:Frightened by dangers
F2:Animals, high places
F3:Ghosts and nightmares
F4:Criticism and pressure from other people
F5:Frightened by the new
F6:Medical fears
F7:Being alone
F8:Mystery movies and parental arguing

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SELF-ESTEEM AND ATTITUDES OF THE PARENTS AS DETERMINANTS OF THE SELF-ESTEEM OF RETURN-MIGRANT CHILDREN

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INTRODUCTION

The interpretations of the results of the earlier studies have been contradictory as to the differences in self-esteem between Swedish and Finnish migrant children living in Sweden. It has remained unanswered whether the differences have been due to

a) different child-rearing attitudes and practices,
b) discrimination associated to the minority position
c) learning difficulties in the school,
d) the greater amount and intensity of life events met by the migrant children or
e) the lower socioeconomic status of the migrant families.

In order to develop to both n emotionally balanced and a cognitively active adult the child should be admired and respected. This study starts from the assumption that the self-esteem of the parents is positively related to the self-esteem of the child. Those parents who accept themselves as such probably have had parents (or other important adults) who have given them unconditional love and respect and will have children who have a positive self-image. The parent who does not like and respect her/himself is not capable to accepting and respecting her/his child. What the parent does not have that he cannot give to the child. The parent who cannot like her/himself or is unsatisfied in her/his accomplishments is not capable to give positive feedback to the child. So the self-esteems of the mother and the father are the parents of the the self-esteem of the child.

The self-esteem can be conceptualized at least in two ways. First there is self-love which is given without own strivings unconditionally and which is acquired very early in the development. Secondly there is self-esteem which must be earned by competence strivings and acquired later in the development by own performances. As to the psychic well-being of the individual the interaction of both kind of sources of the self-esteem promote and feed it most effectively.

The self-esteem of the parents effect of course also to the relationship between the parents. The best condition for the child is that in which both parents have self-love and -respect and the worst in which the parents are difficult partners to each other because of their self-derogative and defensive tendencies. Quarrels and strained atmosphere increase the anxiousness of the child and make it difficult earn the self-esteem by performing well f.ex. in the school.

It is found in some earlier studies that the boys re more easily influenced by the negative conditions than are the girls (Rutter 1982) and that the influence of the parent who has the same sex is greater (Rutter & Quinton 1984). Could it tell about the possibly poorer socio-emotional skills of the fathers than the mothers? Some findings of Ouvinen-Birgerstam (1984) refer to the quite negative relationship between Finnish fathers and their sons as compared to Swedish and Yugoslavian (Croatian, Slovenian etc.) father-son relationships.

In the migrant conditions the sources of the strains and deprivations for both parents and children are many. Therefore it is especially critical for the development of the child that she can get all the support which the family can give to her/him. As Rutter (1985) has concluded even one protective factor can save the child from traumatic developmental course.

SUBJECTS AND METHOD

A hundred and four migrant boys and girls aged 7 to 16 years and their parents participated in the study. The data were gathered by self-report method of both the parents and the children. Self-esteem measure for the parents was 9 modified version of the Quinlan and Janis (1982) measure and that for the children was self-image measure developed by Ouvinen-Birgerstam (1984). The former was translated from English into Finnish. The latter has both the Swedish and Finnish translation from which the Finnish was used. The two self-esteem measures were divided to dimensions by means of both factor analysis and judges.

The Quinlan and Janis measure produced two dimensions which were very the same the developers had had. Of the eighteen items ten produced the first dimension named self-confidence which was the name used also by the developers. The second dimension including the eight items left was named self-acceptance. Quinlan and Janis used only four items and named the dimension negatively as "self-blame".

The Ouvinen-Birgerstam (1984) measure was analyzed very thoroughly by using both factor analysis and judges both in seeking and sorting dimensions of the 72 items. Five factors were found and four of them were selected and final dimensions of the self-esteem. The first and the most powerful factor was excluded because it consisted of items measuring the parent relations. The final four were "psychic well-being, body image, "self-confidence" and "peer relations". Also the sum variable of the four dimensions was used as self-esteem measure.

The other possible explanatory variables were developed for the purposes of this study. The first one was an phenomenal alienation measure developed using mainly the contents and utterances of a novel of an Finnish migrant novelist. Three other were attitude variables, measuring attitudes to Finnish migrants in Sweden Swedish majority people, and the Swedish school respectively.

RESULTS

Of crucial importance to the development of the positive self-esteem of the return-migrant boys was found to be the psychic well-being of the father. From tale 1 can be seen that the two self-esteem dimensions "self-confidence" and self-acceptance as well as attitudes of the fathers toward the migrant Finns correlated positively to the three self-esteem dimensions of the boys, "psychic well-being", "acceptance of body-image", and "self-confidence", and to their sum score, too.

Also the self-confidence of the mother had a statistically significant positive correlation (r = .35) to the self-esteem sum score.

Table 1 The correlations between the dimensions of the self-esteem, alienation, and attitudes of the father and the dimensions of self-esteem of their sons (n=32-36)

	Son's				
Father's	Psychic Well-being	Body-Image	Self - confidence	Peer Relations	Sum Total
Self-confidence	.23	.28	.34*	.20	.28
Self-acceptance	.49**	.27	.18	.12	.31
Alienation	.19	-.02	-.03	.04	.01
Attitude to Finns in Sweden	.41*	.30	.30	.31	.39*
Attitude to Swedes	-.11	-.19	-.07	-.17	-.16
Attitude to Swedish school	-.04	-.04	-.01	.08	-.08

While the majority of the correlations of the self-esteem and attitudinal measures of the fathers to the sons' self-esteem measures were positive the contrary was found to the measures of the mothers and daughters. Table 2 shows tendency that the more self-confident and alienated and the more negative attitudes the mother has toward the Finnish migrants and Swedes the higher will be the self-esteem of her daughter.

Table 2 The correlations between the dimensions of the self-esteem, alienation, and attitudes of the mother and the dimensions of self-esteem of their daughters (n=27-30)

	Daughter's				
Mother's	Psychic Well-being	Body-Image	Self - confidence	Peer Relations	Sum Total
Self-confidence	-.05	-.25	-.22	-.07	-.20
Self-acceptance	-.00	-.07	-.05	-.03	-.04
Alienation	-.23	-.34	-.18	-.07	-.22
Attitude to Finns in Sweden	-.23	-.35*	-.04	-.26	-.22
Attitude to Swedes	-.17	-.27	-.28	-.33	-.30
Attitude to Swedish school	.07	-.05	.01	. 05	.01

When the observations of the boys and girls was treated together it was found a quite clear differentiation as to the correlations between the measures of the parents and the children see Table 3. The father self-acceptance explained the variance of the psychic well-being of the children and the attitude toward the Swedish school the self-confidence of the children. On the other hand, observed phenomenal variables of the mothers' that explained the self-esteem of the children were the experienced alienation and attitudes toward the majority people, the Swedes. These two variables have low negative not any significant correlations to both sex groups treated separately.

Table 3 The correlations between the dimensions of the self-esteem alienation and attitudes of either the mothers or fathers and the dimensions of self-esteem of their daughters and sons (n=59-66)

	Psychic Well-being	Body-Image	Self-confidence	Peer Relations	Sum Total
Father's					
Self-acceptance	.32*				
Attitude to Finns in Sweden	.33**	.21	.20		.26*
Attitude to Swedish school			.26*		
Mother's					
Alienation		-.26*			-.21
Attitude to Swedes		-.27*	-.26*	-.29*	-.30*
Self-confidence (Correlations over .20 not found.)					

*) Correlations smaller than .20 omitted.

CONCLUSIONS

There are of course no means to draw causal conclusions of the provisory and low correlations. It is possible that the self-esteem of the parents effects on their capability of being supporting adults in an unusually stressful daily life of the migrant child. But in must be remembered that the direction can s well be the other way round. If the children do well in the school and succeed to get acquainted with the majority children And adults the self-esteem of their parents will rise. For example it is possible that the correlation of the attitude of the father toward the Swedish school to the self -confidence of the daughter (.37 p.05} can be explained with that both phenomenal measures re depending on the school achievement of the daughter.

The sample of children and their parents is of special kind. They are members of families that have moved back to the parents fatherland. It can well be that the very interesting differentiation between the predictive variables is due to that differential situation in which the family members have been before the move and in which they are after the more. According to the earlier observations it was more difficult to girls than boys to move to Finland. Maybe there are among the girls on the other hand, those who have a Finnish identity and whose mothers have negative attitudes to both the Finns and Swedes and on the other hand those girls who have a high self-esteem through positive relations they have developed to the majority and in spite of the minority orientation of their parents. The situation of the boys is much more simple. They probably have poorer social skills than girls and therefore more easily solve the identification conflict by leaning themselves toward the Finnish people and culture.

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